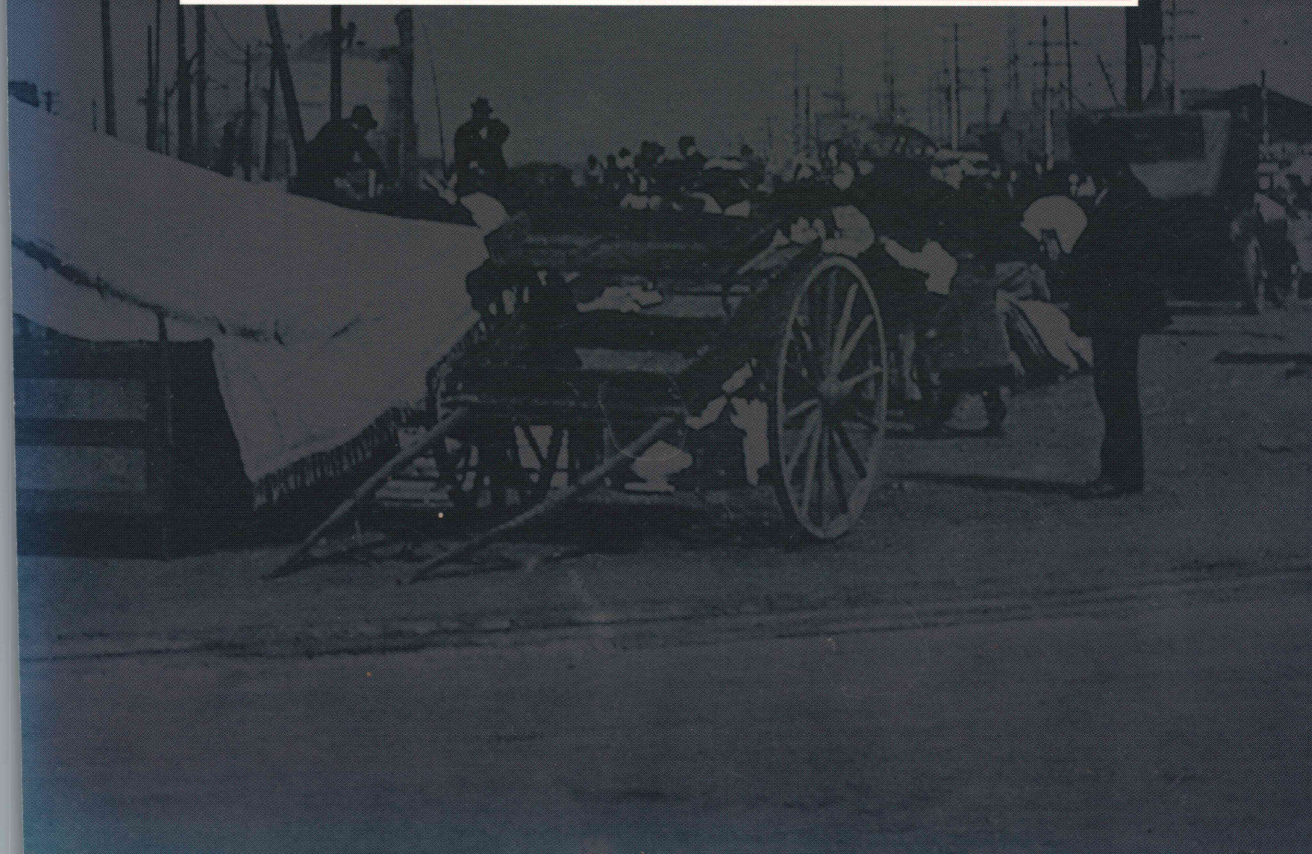


HISTORICAL
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SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA QUARTERLY



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THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA was founded November 1, 1883, and incorporated February 13, 1891. It has enjoyed an unbroken record of continuous activity and growth. Commencing in 1884, and each year through 1934, the Society issued an *Annual Publication*. In 1935 the *Quarterly* was initiated. The Society's publications through 1976 have been described in a concise abstract of articles and separately indexed by Anna Marie and Everett Gordon Hager (comps.), *A Bibliography* (1958), *The Topical Index* (1959), and *Cumulative Index* (1977). A complete list of past Society publications and prices is available on request from the Executive Director. Membership classifications, which include subscription to the *Quarterly* are:

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Merry Ovnick, Editor · *Southern California Quarterly*
Center for Southern California Studies · California State University, Northridge
18111 Nordhoff Street · Northridge, CA 91330-8371

Submissions by attachment, preferably in Microsoft Word, should be addressed to:
merry.ovnick@csun.edu.

Books for review (submitted at the owner's risk) should be addressed to:
Sarah Schrank, Book Review Editor · Historical Society of Southern California
200 East Avenue 43 · Los Angeles, CA 90031-1304

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CONTRIBUTORS

CYNTHIA L. CHAMBERLIN is a historian and researcher at the Center for the Study of Latino Health and Culture. Currently she is lead researcher on a study of crime and society in Los Angeles County in the 1850s, with a special emphasis on the 1856 "riot" and its social context.

MARCO ANTONIO FIREBAUGH represented the 50th Assembly District from 1998 to 2004. During that time, he served as chair of the Latino Legislative Caucus and as Assembly Majority Floor Leader. Currently he is Visiting Professor at the Center for the Study of Latino Health and Culture, lecturing on policy and the legislative process.

CRISTINA GAMBOA was a research assistant at the Center for the Study of Latino Health and Culture and is currently a student at the Medical College of the University of Illinois, Chicago.

DAVID E. HAYES-BAUTISTA is Professor of Medicine and Director of the Center for the Study of Latino Health and Culture, David Geffen School of Medicine, UCLA. His recent book, *La Nueva California: Latinos in the Golden State*, presents a social portrait of Latinos in southern California from 1940 to 2040. Under his direction, the Center's research agenda has expanded to include the development of historical Latino demographic and epidemiological databases, as well as social history, for the period 1850–1930 in California.

ANDREA HENDERSON earned her PhD in History from Stanford University, MAs in History and in Religious Studies from Stanford, and her AB in Comparative Religion and Women's Studies from Harvard/Radcliffe Colleges. Her doctoral dissertation was entitled "Reconstructing Home: Gender, Disaster Relief, and Social Life After the San Francisco Earthquake and Fire, 1906–1915." She is currently teaching at the University of San Francisco and Dominican University. She has also served as a firefighter with the San Francisco Fire Department.

ROGER LOTCHIN is Professor of History at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, specializing in urban history, the American West, and the history of the U.S. in World War II. His work on wartime California includes *Fortress California, 1910–1961: From Warfare to Welfare* (Special Issue, *Pacific Historical Review*, 1992) and *The Bad City in the Good War: San Francisco, Los Angeles, Oakland, and San Diego* (Indiana, 2003).

ON THE COVER: "Refugees camped in front of the Ferry Building, San Francisco, April 1906." (This is one of several photos taken by a group of Mormon missionaries who happened to be in San Francisco when the earthquake and fire occurred.) *Courtesy Special Collections & Archives, Merrill Library, Utah State University.*

REGINALDO FRANCISCO DEL VALLE

UCLA's Forgotten Forefather

*By David E. Hayes-Bautista, Marco Antonio Firebaugh,
Cynthia L. Chamberlin, and Christina Gamboa*

Reginaldo F. del Valle, esteemed and beloved statesman, was born in Los Angeles. . . . At 25 he was elected to the State Legislature and at 27 was made President Pro-Tem of the Senate, a signal honor accorded to one so young. He has rendered valuable service to Los Angeles and the State. While in the Senate, he secured for Los Angeles the State Normal School.¹

In the place and stead and on the site of the Los Angeles State Normal School, the Regents of the University of California shall . . . conduct at Los Angeles a branch of the University of California.²

In short, without the tender of the Normal School, there would have been no state university here [in Los Angeles].³

In 2019 the University of California at Los Angeles will celebrate its one-hundredth anniversary as a campus of the University of California. UCLA, however, did not suddenly spring into being out of nothingness in 1919; it was built “in the place and stead” of its predecessor institution, which for thirty-eight years previously had provided public higher education in southern California: the Los Angeles State Normal School, founded in 1881 for the preparation of elementary school teachers.⁴ When the University of California at Berkeley celebrated its one-hundredth anniversary in 1968, great homage was paid to its forefather, Henry Durant, and its predecessor institution, the College of California, a private religious school chartered in 1855, absorbed by the nascent Regents of the University of California in 1868. Buildings and streets around the state have been named

Reginaldo Francisco del Valle
as a young man. *Security
Pacific Collection, Los Angeles
Public Library.*



to honor Durant and his contributions to higher education. The one-hundredth anniversary of UCLA would be a fitting time to rectify an oversight committed in the recounting of its history when the campus was only eleven years young, in 1930. During two days of public events marking the dedication of the new Romanesque Westwood campus and buildings, 180 representatives of other colleges and universities—Harvard, Columbia, Chicago, St. Andrews, and Aberdeen, among others—marched in academic procession as the new campus took its place in the ranks of academia. Yet over two days of solemn ceremony, the predecessor institution upon whose “place and stead” UCLA was rising, the Los Angeles State Normal School, was mentioned only once. Compounding the oversight, the person who was largely responsible for the effective establishment of UCLA’s forerunner institution was not mentioned at all, and subsequently his role has nearly been forgotten.

In his roles, first as state assemblyman from 1880 to 1881, then as state senator from 1882 to 1886, the bilingual, bicultural Los Angeles native of

Mexican origin—pointedly, not of “Spanish” origin—Reginaldo Francisco del Valle was responsible for the establishment, funding, and winning of independent governance for the Los Angeles State Normal School. This institution was transferred to the Regent of the University of California in 1919 to provide the institutional platform from which grew and developed the UCLA campus, dedicated in 1930. Yet the man whose efforts resulted in the historic institutional platform for the dedication was curiously absent from the ceremonies: Del Valle was not a speaker, he was not mentioned by any of the speakers, he did not march in the academic procession, he was not among the honored guests,⁵ and he was not mentioned by the *Los Angeles Times* reports on the ceremonies as even having attended the event.⁶ This article provides the story of how Reginaldo F. del Valle’s legislative skill and efforts made possible the development of the Los Angeles State Normal School, absorbed by the University of California in 1919 to become UCLA.

THE GOLD RUSH SHAPES CALIFORNIA

The cry of “Gold!” brought tens of thousands of fortune-seekers to California in the turbulent decade and a half from 1848 to 1861. Most of them passed through San Francisco on their way to the gold fields and caused that city to explode in size and influence. With a population of scarcely 500 in 1847, San Francisco grew to about 8,000 within two years, to 34,776 in three more years, and to 56,802 by 1860.⁷ By 1880, over 90 percent of the state’s population lived in the northern end of the state: the combined population of the southern counties—Los Angeles, San Bernardino, San Diego, Santa Barbara, San Luis Obispo, and Ventura—ranged from 6.3 percent of the state’s total in 1850 to 8.5 percent by 1880. As a consequence of the north’s population dominance, virtually all the state’s buildings and institutions—the state capital, the state courts, the prisons at San Quentin and Folsom, the state hospital at Napa—were built in the north. The state’s higher education institutions, likewise, had developed in the north. The young University of California was established at Berkeley in 1868, and the State Normal School, a teacher-training institution, opened in 1857 in San Francisco and later moved in 1862 to San José.

Los Angeles County experienced its own, more modest, rate of growth, numbering 3,530 residents in 1850 and reaching 33,381—about one-eighth the size of San Francisco—by 1880. But it too was poised for explosive growth, to be detonated by the completion of the Santa Fe railroad in

1886.⁸ One thing perceived as retarding Los Angeles' development, however, was the nearly complete absence of state infrastructure at the southern end of the state: no schools, courts, prisons, hospitals, or libraries.

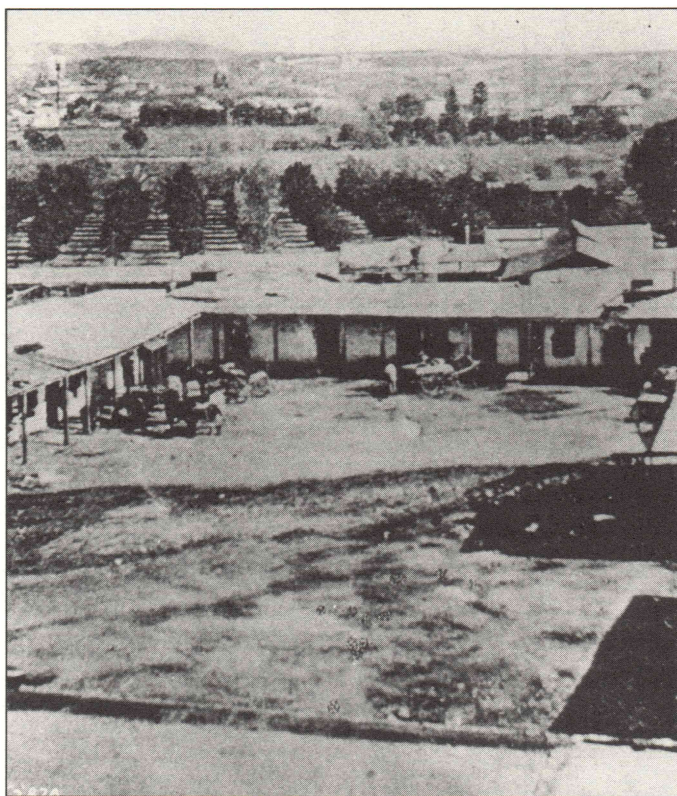
Of course, any such infrastructure investment would have to come from the state legislature, and that was heavily weighted in favor of the more populous north. As the state assembly met for its twenty-third session in 1880, seventy-four of the eighty members were from northern counties, only six from the southern ones. It would take an extraordinary legislator to convince such an overwhelmingly northern-dominated assembly to begin to build state institutions in the south. And such an extraordinary legislator joined the state assembly in 1880, when a young, bilingual Latino attorney, Reginaldo Francisco del Valle, was sworn in during the first day of that year's session.

DEL VALLE'S EARLY YEARS

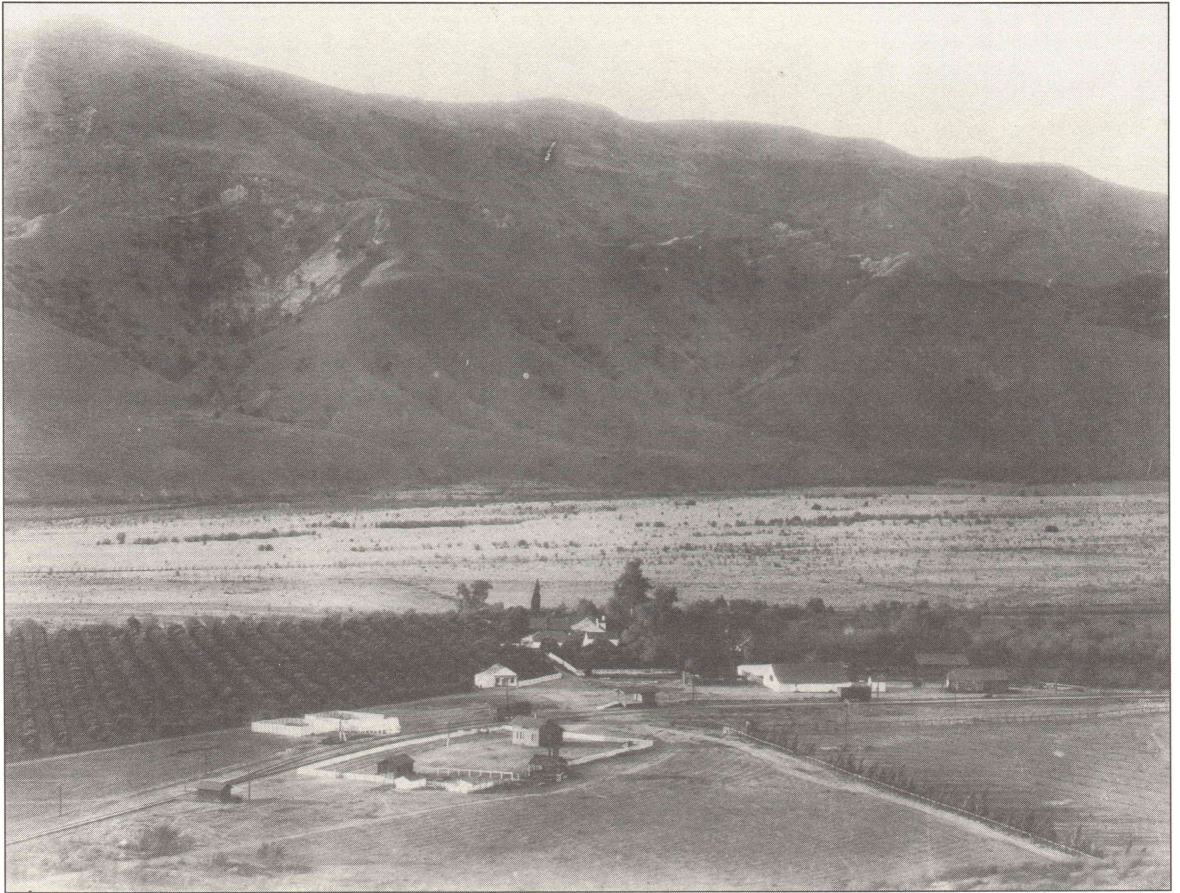
While often referred to in the contemporary press as a *Californio*—by which was meant a romantic figure in a bolero jacket from the days of the Spanish dons—Reginaldo F. del Valle in fact was an American, born four years after California had become part of the Union. Far from being the “last of the dons,” Del Valle was among the first second-generation Latinos of the state. His father, Ygnacio del Valle, had relocated from Compostela, Jalisco, to California in 1825, while the latter was still a state of the Republic of Mexico,⁹ and therefore technically he was never an immigrant. His mother, Ysabel Varela del Valle, was born in California in 1836 and likewise was not an immigrant. Nonetheless, due to the United States' absorption of California after the Mexican-American War, Reginaldo del Valle lived a civic-cultural experience similar to that which will be lived by over 50 percent of all children born in California since 2001, that of a United States-born, English-speaking Latino child with Spanish-speaking “immigrant” parents.¹⁰

He was born in 1854 in the Del Valle family's adobe house, which faced the social and economic center of Los Angeles, La Plaza. After the family moved in 1861 to their ranch in Camulos, in today's Ventura County, young Reginaldo was tutored at home, becoming fluent in English and French as well as Spanish.¹¹ He went to St. Vincent's Academy in Los Angeles for high school and, after graduating with honors, attended Santa Clara University. He read law with the San Francisco firm of Winans and Belknap, and he passed the state bar examination in 1877. California State

The Del Valle family home east of the Los Angeles Plaza where Reginaldo F. del Valle was born in 1854. *History Collections, Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History.*



Treasurer José G. Estudillo was the first to wire Reginaldo's mother to inform her of the pleasant news that "Reginaldo was admitted [to the practice of law] today by the Supreme Court. I give you my congratulations."¹² Del Valle returned to Los Angeles, rented an office in one of the first modern office buildings in the city—one built by Juan (né Jonathan) Temple, a New Englander who had moved to Los Angeles while California was still part of Mexico¹³—and opened the "Office of R. F. del Valle, Attorney and Counselor at Law, 38 Temple Block."¹⁴ Del Valle soon became involved in the local Democratic Party, of which his father had been a leader since the 1850s. A little over a year later, he was a candidate for the state assembly. He beat his Republican opponent; and on January 2, 1880, freshman assembly member Reginaldo F. del Valle raised his right hand and, along with seventy-nine colleagues, was sworn in as a member of the lower house of the California state legislature. He was one of only six assembly members from southern California and the only Latino.



Ygnacio del Valle moved his family to the Camulos Rancho in present-day Ventura County in 1861. (undated photo, some time after railroad, foreground, was completed in 1876.) *History Collections, Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History.*

THE 1880 SESSION

In many respects, that 1880 legislative session was highly unusual. After a decade of mounting labor unrest, racial resentment against the Chinese, and blue-collar resentment of growing railroad monopolies in the state, in 1879 the Workingman's Party, under the zealous leadership of Denis Kearney, had succeeded in forcing through a constitutional convention that created a new document to guide the state's institutions.¹⁵ In his opening remarks, newly elected Speaker of the Assembly J. F. Cowdery

reminded the newly sworn-in assembly members that "The people . . . of the state . . . became desperate, and, looking for a remedy, they adopted a new Constitution, trusting to it for relief. We are here to enact the laws to enforce this new Constitution." By "mandatory constitutional provision" the legislative session was limited to ninety days; a completely new state governing and administrative structure had to be erected over the next three months.¹⁶ The assembly urgently busied itself with the business of creating a new state government. One aspect of this business must have galled Del Valle: the loss of Spanish as one of the official languages of the state of California. The just-abolished 1849 constitution had provided that "All laws, decrees, regulations and provisions, which from their nature require publication, shall be published in English and Spanish."¹⁷ For thirty years previously, the state, counties, and cities had employed official translators and interpreters and had contracted with newspapers for the publication of official pronouncements, including the governor's annual address, in Spanish. The new 1879 constitution abolished this practice. A flurry of bills such as AB 184, "an Act to provide for the keeping of accounts in the English language,"¹⁸ was introduced to require state offices to comply with the new, English-only state constitution. Del Valle opposed this bill and tried to make it ineffective by moving to strike out the enacting clause, without which the proposed law would have been rendered inert; but his motion to do so lost.¹⁹

Although the focus was on state institutions, higher education had not originally been part of the assembly's agenda. But extraordinary circumstances suddenly focused the legislature's attention on this issue when a fire destroyed the State Normal School building in San José in early February. Obviously, a new building would be needed. But did it have to be built in San José? Might it not be possible to rebuild it elsewhere, possibly even in Los Angeles? Preserved among Del Valle's papers at the Huntington Library is a handwritten document from 1879 entitled "Table showing the relative advantages which certain counties receive from the State Normal School of San José and indicating the necessity for Branch Normal Schools." This analysis shows that while 33 percent of the teachers in Santa Clara and Alameda Counties were graduates of that State Normal School, only 3 percent of the teachers in Los Angeles County, and 2 percent of those in far northern Yuba County, had graduated from that institution.²⁰ Both the far northern and southern ends of the state were receiving little return from the Normal School in San José. On February 22, former Gov-

ernor John G. Downey wrote to Del Valle, encouraging him to push for a Los Angeles location for higher education: "I hope our Delegation will succeed in getting us a Normal School. We require it and our position demands it—Appeal to their sense of justice."²¹ Barely two weeks after the destructive fire in San José, freshman Assemblyman Reginaldo del Valle introduced a bill (AB 428) to "establish a Branch Normal School" in Los Angeles.²² The drive to bring public higher education to Los Angeles had begun.

But while Del Valle was the first, he was not the only one to see that the reconstruction of the Normal School was a chance to establish publicly funded higher education at a site other than San José. Later the same day, Assemblyman Carr of Yuba County introduced another bill, AB 437, to authorize the construction of three normal-school buildings.²³ Just two days later, on February 26, the city of Santa Rosa made a generous offer to the assembly: if it sited a normal school there, the city would donate the grounds and a building, free of encumbrances.²⁴ Not wishing to be left behind, Assemblyman Sayle of Fresno County introduced a bill to locate a normal school in that county.²⁵ Quickly the representative from the city of Redding also introduced legislation authorizing the construction of a state normal school in his community.²⁶ The proliferation of so many normal-school initiatives indicates a general sense that the state needed at least one additional public institution of higher education. Yet clearly there was a lack of consensus about where to build it.

On February 28, the state senate helped focus the assembly debates by communicating their consensus on rebuilding the burned-out normal school: SB 336, to "provide for the erection of a building for the use of the Normal School."²⁷ The senate bill merely authorized the funds for a building in San José, without raising the issue of an additional school. The assembly bills, however, were all about the location—San José? Los Angeles? Redding? Fresno? Santa Rosa? To try to prompt some resolution, on March 17 the Speaker of the Assembly appointed a special committee to find some compromise between the six different assembly bills offering five different sites. After a short meeting, the special committee offered a bland new bill, AB 541, a compromise measure that provided \$25,000 for *each* city vying for a normal school.²⁸

Del Valle was anxious to keep the vision of higher education in Los Angeles alive, even if the city was merely one of five possible sites. On

March 22, he tried to speed up the deliberation, moving that AB 541, the six-bill compromise, be considered out of its normal order, so that a vote could be fast-tracked. His motion to speed the process was defeated.²⁹ Three days later, however, the senate bill authorizing the construction of a new normal-school building, SB 336, was voted by the assembly to be "special order of the day," which meant it would be considered immediately rather than waiting its turn on the legislative calendar. Del Valle, anxious to keep a Los Angeles site on the table, moved that the assembly bill dealing with multiple sites, AB 541, also be considered as "order of the day," along with SB 336. This motion was approved,³⁰ and henceforth the senate bill authorizing the funds for construction and the assembly bill specifying sites for the construction were to be considered together. It would appear that a consensus was emerging—on the senate side, to appropriate funds for normal-school buildings, and in the assembly, to build additional schools at additional sites.

Unfortunately, personal misfortune combined with public contention at this point. On the last day of March, Del Valle requested and obtained a one-week leave of absence to attend the funeral of his beloved father, who had died on March 30.³¹ He probably rued his absence later, for while he was away, the fragile consensus on the two bills broke down completely, and the very idea of a second normal school anywhere in the state came close to extinction.

Some assemblymen, unhappy that the senate bill had not addressed the issue of additional normal schools in the state, tried to adversely affect SB 336, so as to signal their displeasure to the senate. The desire for additional normal school locations led to parliamentary maneuvering to modify—and, at times, effectively kill—the senate's construction bill authorizing only a single school. On April 1, it was moved that the \$150,000 appropriated for the new normal school be reduced to \$100,000, then to \$50,000;³² reducing the appropriation to an insufficient sum is a classic way to signal displeasure, although it runs the risk of killing a bill. Another method is to postpone the bill, so that it misses the end-of-session deadline, sending another signal via express lack of cooperation; accordingly, Assemblyman Sweetland moved to postpone debate on the reduced SB 336 indefinitely.³³ His motion lost. Yet another way to kill a bill is to essentially "hijack" it with a hostile amendment. On April 2, Assemblyman Brown of Santa Rosa moved "to strike out all after the enacting clause and insert a

substitute.”³⁴ Most likely, his substitute language authorized the rebuilding at Santa Rosa. His blatant grab, however, was also rejected.

Once this hostile amendment had failed, Assemblyman Adams, also from Sonoma County, tried a smoother way: via a friendly amendment, he proposed merely appropriating an additional \$5,000 to build “a Branch Normal School at Santa Rosa.”³⁵ In Del Valle’s absence, Assemblyman P. M. Green—also representing Los Angeles County—piggybacked onto Sonoma County’s amendment, an additional appropriation of \$45,000 for a site in Los Angeles. Both the amendment (Santa Rosa) and the amendment to the amendment (Los Angeles) passed. Suddenly the logjam was broken. It appeared that all a city had to do to get a branch normal school was to offer a friendly amendment to the senate bill authorizing construction. In quick succession, more such amendments were offered, adding to the original appropriation funds for normal-school buildings in Shasta County, Nevada City, Fresno,³⁶ San Andreas, and Nevada County.³⁷ While the intent of these amendments was not to kill the bill, a bill with so many amendments nevertheless signaled a lack of consensus, so its future was not clear. There remained just enough consensus to move the bill to its third reading, and further debate on the bill was postponed until the following day.³⁸ The assembly bill providing a compromise on location by incorporating six previous bills—AB 541 still was an active bill, but its future was clouded by the many amendments to the senate bill, SB 336, now specifying multiple locations. Discussion on AB 541 was delayed as well until the following day.

On April 3, both bills, the now much-amended SB 336 and the six-bill compromise AB 541, were “temporarily passed on file,” which meant that action on them was postponed until later the same legislative day,³⁹ and a special committee was appointed to engage in off-the-floor discussion, charged with returning to the chamber with a compromise version of the much-amended SB 336. With the end of the legislative session only two weeks away, the window for seeking a consensus was starting to close. The special committee returned with its report, another bland, try-to-please-everyone document that apparently pleased no one. All the cities that wanted a normal school were still in the bill, but not enough money was appropriated to build schools in all.⁴⁰ Too many cities, not enough money: that was the problem. Ignoring the special committee’s report, the cities tried to solve the resource issue by promptly turning on one another. Assemblyman Brauhart from San Francisco moved to strike out of the

amended SB 336 the appropriations for the proposed normal schools at Redding and Nevada County,⁴¹ which effectively would have killed them. Other motions were made to eliminate Santa Rosa as a site,⁴² and to “scrape off” excess cities by reducing the amount available from \$200,000 to \$150,000 and finally to \$100,000,⁴³ so that building at multiple sites would be fiscally impossible.

One can imagine the vitriol as city turned upon city, with those areas not requesting a normal-school site trying to cut off the debate entirely so that the assembly could return to the pressing matter of recreating California’s state government. The process had nearly broken down. Finally, a member for Colusa County, which was not seeking a normal-school site, leveled the playing field by offering a compromise amendment that removed all cities from SB 336 and replaced them with a process by which the “the Board of Trustees of the State Normal School are hereby directed to select two suitable localities, the one in the northern, the other in the southern portion of the state.”⁴⁴ The board was to report back to the legislature the following year and ask for an amount sufficient to build two normal schools. Above the objections of cities clamoring to be named as normal-school sites, a majority of the assembly voted to move this much-amended bill to its third and final reading as soon as the weekend was over, satisfied that at least a process for site selection had been defined. A principle had been established in the assembly: there would be a second normal school built somewhere in the state, and the process established in SB 336 would decide upon the site for this second school. But Assembly Bill 541, which contained six proposals for sites, was still active, as were the six individual bills. Once again, communities girded for a fight.

After his week’s absence, Reginaldo del Valle returned to this chaotic situation. The fight on the assembly floor over the location of the rebuilt normal school had become so raucous that the senate had been forced to intervene. On April 5, it had sent to the lower house a new bill, SB 383, entitled “An Act to Establish a Branch State Normal School,”⁴⁵ authorizing construction of an additional normal school. In both houses there was now consensus that a school at San José alone no longer would be sufficient for the growing state. Yet as AB 541 and the six individual city bills—including his own bill, AB 428, specifying Los Angeles as a site—were still alive, Del Valle took quick and decisive action. He moved that the new Senate Bill 383 “go to the file,” which would move this senate bill out of sequence, so that it could be considered immediately.⁴⁶ His motion was

approved. When SB 336, the original bill authorizing a single building at San José, was taken up for its third and final reading on April 6, Del Valle immediately moved that it be referred to the Committee on Education, with instructions to them to remove the section empowering the Board of Trustees of the State Normal School to determine two sites and to report back later that day. Apparently not convinced that a process alone would suffice, he most likely wanted to have Los Angeles specifically named. His motion was approved, but he did have to fight back renewed attempts to amend the amount appropriated. The fighting at that point was so bitter that the Speaker had to intervene to restore order, and his intervention was itself made the object of a vote, "Shall the decision of the Chair stand as the judgment of the House?"⁴⁷ The chair was sustained and order restored. After the lunch recess, the Committee on Education made its report. In compliance with their instructions, its members had removed the section giving the decision on location to the Board of Trustees of the Normal School. SB 336 was now simply an appropriations bill to build at a single site, and the issue of an additional location was to be determined by the outcome either of the six-bill compromise, AB 541, or of the new Senate Bill 383.

Shorn of amendments both friendly and hostile, SB 336 now was passed by an overwhelming majority, 58 to 10.⁴⁸ The state would rebuild the normal-school facility in San José. Attention subsequently turned to the location of an additional branch of the Normal School, spelled out in AB 541. Just as the contestants girded for the renewed fight, Assemblyman Fraser from El Dorado County, a county not in the locations battle, moved "that the further consideration of the bill be indefinitely postponed."⁴⁹ This essentially would have killed the bill, for the end of the legislative session was less than a week away. This motion to postpone barely eked out a majority, winning only 36 to 33.⁵⁰ Del Valle did not accept this vote; he gave notice that he would move to have the vote to postpone reconsidered the next day. Usually, a member asks for reconsideration of a vote only when there is a good chance of changing the few votes needed to alter the outcome. Despite his probable attempts to do so, del Valle's motion to reconsider the vote was defeated, and that bill—a compromise of the other six bills—was dead.

But the individual bills were still very much alive, as was the senate's bill regarding locations, SB 383. On April 7, the debates began anew. Yet the legislative clock was ticking—the session would end in a few days—and

it was time for an end-game strategy. Time was too short and tempers too raw to allow for consensus building. If Del Valle's original bill authorizing a building in Los Angeles (AB 428) were to lose under these rancorous conditions, it could be the end of the idea of having a normal school in Los Angeles, possibly forever. Should he attempt to bring up the idea again in some future legislative session, the most likely response would be, "Sir, we have considered this idea before and have rejected it. Next item, please." So when the floor debate turned to the various normal-school bills, Del Valle withdrew his bill,⁵¹ thereby preserving his ability to re-introduce the idea of a normal school in Los Angeles at a future date. In its place, SB 383, the senate's bill regarding locations, was taken up instead. Most likely, Del Valle hoped to insert the Los Angeles location somewhere in this senate bill. But before he could make such an amendment and move the bill to approval, ill-will broke out again on the floor, and hostile amendments were offered that would have gutted the bill. Once again, it was ordered referred to the Committee on Education, "with instructions to report the bill back tomorrow, amended by incorporating the amendments referred with the bill."⁵² For Del Valle, the window to secure Los Angeles as a site was closing. He demanded a roll-call vote on referring the bill, hoping to keep it alive on the floor. He lost the vote. Immediately, he moved to have the vote reconsidered, a long-shot effort. His motion was not accepted.

As the 1880 legislative session rattled to a close, all the other individual bills to establish branch normal school locations in Redding, Santa Rosa, and other locations—AB 458, AB 463, AB 467, AB 469⁵³—were withdrawn, thereby keeping alive the possibility that a future legislative session might approve one or more of these sites. Only Senate Bill 383, authorizing a branch normal school somewhere in the state, remained viable for the last few days of the 1880 session. But that bill must have been too little, too late. For after the Committee on Education presented its bland compromise, SB 383, which would have stipulated the location of the branch state normal school, was refused passage.⁵⁴ Del Valle gave notice that he would move for a reconsideration of the vote the next day.

He must have negotiated far into the night, for the next day Del Valle moved to "reconsider the vote by which the House, yesterday, refused to pass Senate Bill No. 383—An Act to establish a Branch Normal School," and miraculously, his motion to reconsider was approved by a large majority.⁵⁵ SB 383 was alive and back on the floor. But the Pandora's box of local self-interest was opened immediately, as Assemblyman Bass from Shasta

County moved to insert an amendment providing \$25,000 for a Branch Normal School at Redding.⁵⁶ Yet, due to fears that precious remaining time would be eaten up by a debate on school location for which, clearly, no consensus existed, the amendment was quickly defeated; then the entire bill, SB 383—the last chance to specify a location for the new school—once again was refused passage. The window of opportunity slammed shut for the year.

The next day, April 16, the Speaker of the Assembly declared the 1880 legislative session adjourned, with much business left unfinished. Tired from the wrangling on the floor, particularly over the issue of the normal school, he tried to soothe tempers: "Let us bid each other a kindly farewell . . . forget all that has been out of the usual course, only remembering that which is good."⁵⁷ Nevertheless, assembly members representing Santa Rosa, San Andreas, Fresno, Reading, Nevada City, and Los Angeles could not forget that their attempts to secure a branch of the state normal school in their cities had been thwarted. The 1881 legislative year promised to be equally disputatious, as selection of a site for a branch normal school would continue to pique legislative interest.

But for Reginaldo del Valle, the next session would be different and more fruitful. During his debut session, Del Valle had become increasingly involved in the parliamentary aspects of the assembly. Towards the end of the 1880 session, for example, he had managed to have an amendment reconsidered by raising an overlooked point of parliamentary order.⁵⁸ Del Valle was becoming a seasoned debater and strategist and an expert on parliamentary law; twenty years later, he would serve as a lecturer in parliamentary law at the newly opened Southern California College of Law.⁵⁹ While other legislators simply hoped to establish a new normal school in their districts, Del Valle's growing parliamentary skills increased the probability that Los Angeles would be the next site.

THE 1881 SESSION

On January 3, 1881, the eighty members of the twenty-fourth session of the state assembly were sworn in. Del Valle and fourteen others had been re-elected. The remaining sixty-five were freshmen in their first term, including the only other Latino assemblyman, Valentín Alviso from Alameda County.⁶⁰ Del Valle, now one of the senior members of the assembly, had his growing stature recognized when he was nominated to the powerful position of Speaker of the Assembly by Platt of San Francisco, losing by

only three votes.⁶¹ Achieving a branch of the state normal school in Los Angeles was still at the top of Del Valle's legislative priorities, and the intervening months may have given him time to reflect on how to avoid the rancor of the past session while still achieving his ends. The answer apparently lay in strategy and behind-the-scenes activity. As soon as the assembly was called into session on January 4, Del Valle introduced the first three bills to be considered that session, and the third of these, AB 3, was "An Act to establish a Branch Normal School" in Los Angeles. The bill was referred to the Committee on Education on January 7.⁶²

The assembly's *Journal* recorded that AB 3 was in the education committee for three days, then was returned to the floor with a recommendation that it be passed. One easily can imagine that the cities that had clamored so intensely for a branch normal school in the 1880 session continued with that desire—indeed, in subsequent years the cities of Chico, San Francisco, Fresno, and Eureka were to achieve normal schools. This time, however, AB 3 was not the immediate target of hostile amendments or other maneuverings to detain it, as had been the lot of such bills in the previous year's session. The 1881 session records no such bitter commentary and debate on the floor. This does not mean that tempers did not flare—it simply means that such flare-ups were kept off the floor, hence not mentioned in the official record. One can be sure, all the same, that the issue was just as contentious as ever because Del Valle devised an end-run parliamentary maneuver that sidestepped much potential discord.

On January 12, after AB 3 had been back on the assembly floor, and apparently "stuck" for nearly a week, J. P. West, senator from Los Angeles, rose and introduced a bill in the state senate, SB 187, identical to Del Valle's AB 3.⁶³ The fact that West's bill was identical to Del Valle's indicates very close communication and probably collaboration. That Del Valle's bill was on the assembly floor for nearly two weeks before West introduced his bill indicates that Del Valle most likely took the initiative of going to his counterpart in the upper house. It seems to have been an early example of Del Valle's increasing parliamentary canniness.

Just as today, there were differences between the senate and the assembly that would have made such a tactic attractive for Del Valle. There were only forty members in the senate, and they were elected for longer periods. Just as in the United States Senate, there was more of a tradition of collegiality and decorum, compared to the more overt rancor and raised tempers in the assembly. In addition, there was a tradition of being more coopera-

tive on "district bills," measures designed to benefit a legislator's district. If the idea for a normal school in Los Angeles came to the assembly from the senate, it would come with "legs"; that is, it would come as an idea already considered and approved by the upper house. While amendments could always be offered to modify it, the "bill in chief" still would have a certain momentum, and a Los Angeles site would be more likely to emerge as part of the final bill. Generally, very few assemblymen were savvy enough to avail themselves of the services of their upper-house colleagues in this way.

SB 187 went through its three senate readings then, surprisingly, was rejected on January 27.⁶⁴ But the vote to reject SB 187 was reconsidered, and, upon reconsideration, the bill passed in the upper house. While no record of the off-floor discussion is available, one can assume that Del Valle was orchestrating the process. As Senator West left almost no trail of legislative activity or leadership, and virtually drops from the public record after SB 187, while Del Valle became famed as a parliamentarian and a power in the Democratic Party, it is more likely that Del Valle, with his proven parliamentary knowledge, secured the victory.

SB 187 went to the assembly on February 3,⁶⁵ where it was "ordered on file, to take its place next before Assembly Bill No. 3."⁶⁶ This meant that the idea of a branch normal school in Los Angeles—as a consensus of the senate—would be considered before AB 3, about which there was no consensus in the assembly. This year, there is no record of unfriendly amendments, hijackings, budget reductions, motions to postpone indefinitely, or the other attempts to kill bills so evident during 1880. Del Valle convinced a sufficient number of northern Californian legislators to support the branch normal school in Los Angeles by promising to support a northern school at a later date. Indeed, four years later, Del Valle was very active in his support of a bill establishing a normal school in Shasta County.⁶⁷ Yet Del Valle's successful efforts to achieve consensus on this legislation came with a political price. The official history of the Los Angeles State Normal School, written twenty-five years later in 1907, mentioned that he had had to champion it so vigorously that "Mr. Del Valle became a target for the Workingman's Delegation of San Francisco, some members of which in the heat of the debate made use of sharp personalities."⁶⁸

Once a consensus was reached, the bill could be allowed to re-enter the formal record. On March 2, after nearly a month off the floor, Assemblyman Del Valle moved to "suspend the rules" and have SB 187 taken up out of its regular sequence.⁶⁹ Knowing the volatility of his consensus, more than

likely Del Valle wanted to have SB 187 considered while he still had a majority opinion on it. Yet the divisiveness of the measure became immediately apparent when, rather than allowing a normally pro forma voice vote on Del Valle's move to consider SB 187 out of sequence, a roll call was demanded by Assemblymen Paulk, Sargent, and Leach—a measure usually resorted to only when the vote might be so close that a voice vote might have seemed inconclusive. This was the first time a roll call was demanded on the idea during the 1881 session, though there had been many in the previous year's session. Nevertheless, the motion to take up SB 187 out of sequence won resoundingly, by 44 to 15 on a roll-call vote.⁷⁰ The bill was ordered read and was moved for approval to passage to third reading. SB 187 appeared nearly unstoppable. Still, an unprecedented request for a roll-call vote on the move for a third reading was demanded by Assemblymen Paulk, Sargent, and Coleman; and the resulting vote, while positive, was closer than Del Valle would have wanted: 36 to 34. Given this slim margin, it is likely that Del Valle spent the evening in furious negotiation, for the next day SB 187—an act to establish a branch state normal school in Los Angeles—was read the third time, was at once moved for approval, and, without motions for hostile amendments, friendly amendments, postponement, or gutting, passed resoundingly, 46 to 23. The title was approved,⁷¹ and the long struggle was over: Los Angeles would have its branch normal school. Anticlimactically, Del Valle withdrew the now redundant AB 3, as he had achieved his goal and no longer had to keep a fallback bill in reserve.

On March 14, 1881, the bill was signed into law by Governor George C. Perkins as Chapter LXXVII, "An Act to establish a Branch State Normal School." The first section of the law stipulated that, "There shall be established in the County of Los Angeles a school, to be called the Branch State Normal School of California, for the training and educating of teachers in the art of instructing and governing in the public schools of this state." The provisions of the law specified that the "people of the County of Los Angeles" were to offer sites to the state to select for the new branch normal school. Once a site was selected, \$50,000 from the state's general fund was to go for construction. Stern language warned against running over budget. The law was to be implemented immediately.⁷²

Though the governance and oversight of the Branch Normal School in Los Angeles was to remain with the San José-based board of trustees, the decision to establish a branch of the normal school in Los Angeles showed

that the latter city, through its able legislator, finally had gained a measure of status. Commenting on the legislative skill needed to come back after the opposition of the stronger northern counties, the *Los Angeles Times* remarked, "Los Angeles, through her representatives in the State Legislature, made a hard and stubborn fight to get the main building here, but failed in her gigantic effort. True to California instincts, however, she shuffled the cards again, played for everything in sight, and won, although she was playing a single hand against some of the strongest counties in the State."⁷³

The laying of the cornerstone of the Branch State Normal School at Los Angeles was a moment of great joy and celebration. On December 17, 1881, a procession of dignitaries, led by members of the Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons of California with rods held aloft and swords drawn, left downtown and made its way to the grounds of the new Branch Normal School, at Fifth Street and Grand Avenue.⁷⁴ After the Masons sprinkled it with corn, wine, and oil, the cornerstone was laid in place. The master of ceremonies, Lieutenant Governor Mansfield, then turned to the orator of the day, the Honorable Reginaldo F. del Valle, who then "made one of his stirring speeches."⁷⁵ He began by suggesting that "after all the trouble the people of Los Angeles had in order to get the Branch Normal School here, they ought to look back to this day with feelings of pride and pleasure." He reminded the audience of the "hard fight in the legislature after the [re-]building of Normal School at San Jose," and acknowledged that the appropriation to build the Branch State Normal School in Los Angeles was "one of the first that had ever been granted to Los Angeles county." He added that "heretofore the northern and middle counties have been ahead of us on appropriations, but now we may expect to rank with any of them in favors from the State government." After a number of coins were sealed into the cornerstone, including an 1874 Spanish *real*, the audience applauded and "seemed well pleased with the entire programme."⁷⁶

THE BRANCH NORMAL SCHOOL AT LOS ANGELES

A public institution of higher education finally was becoming a reality in Los Angeles. But the issue of its governance emerged as soon as construction began. In addition to the ultimately more significant questions of personnel and curriculum, all aspects of construction had to be routed through, and approved by, the board of trustees in San José. Plumbers, for example, were notified in the *Los Angeles Times* that "Proposals will be received until



The original State Normal School, Los Angeles at Fifth and Grand, the current site of the Los Angeles Public Library.
The campus was dedicated in 1882. *History Collections, Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History.*

SATURDAY, JAN. 21st, at 2:00 p.m. for the plumbing and gas fitting in the Branch Normal School in Los Angeles. . . . Mark proposals 'Proposals for plumbing,' and direct to CHAS H. ALLEN, Secretary, San José."⁷⁷ Separate bids for stairs, doorsills,⁷⁸ tin work, shingles, lime, plaster, and hair for binding the plaster,⁷⁹ all had to be taken to San José for decisions. Bills as small as \$10.50 were sent to San José for approval by the trustees.

Construction began nonetheless, and in September, 1882, the nearly-complete Los Angeles Branch Normal School was officially dedicated. Governor Perkins, Lt. Governor Mansfield, and State Superintendent of Public Instruction F. M. Campbell attended. Once again, orator Reginaldo F. del Valle took the opportunity to point out the need for public programs in southern California. "When the Normal School was established at San Jose, it opened with twelve pupils; six years afterward, there were only 119 pupils in attendance. How forcible, then, was the argument that Southern California needed a branch normal school, when it opened only a few days ago with an attendance of sixty-five pupils." Del Valle proudly pointed out that one of the first state buildings constructed in southern California was neither a state prison nor an asylum but an educational institution, "a place where persons can be trained to teach our children." He noted that the "common school system was the cement that held the people together" and finally commented that the building had been constructed under budget.⁸⁰

SENATOR DEL VALLE

After serving two terms successfully in the California State Assembly, Del Valle was elected to the state senate in 1882. His stature was growing. One sign of this growing respect was that he was chosen by his colleagues as president *pro tempore* of the senate. The *Los Angeles Times* published a character sketch of Senator del Valle in 1885 that describes his skill as a senate leader. "Senator Reginaldo Francisco Del Valle from Los Angeles, is the parliamentarian *par excellence* in the upper House. Since his school days at Santa Clara College, he is generally accredited with having adopted Cushing's unabridged, so to say, as his Bible. . . . No man in either House, not even excepting Uncle William Parks, can work off more business in a given length of time than can Del Valle in the chair. He never hesitates for an instant, and is even a little arrogant in the promptness with which he decides every point and rushes the work along. No one ever thinks of appealing from his decisions."⁸¹

Nevertheless, the otherwise flattering article could not help but comment on Del Valle's slightly accented English: "Del Valle has spoken but seldom this session, but when he does he justifies the reputation he has gained in former sessions of the Senate and Assembly as a logical and concise speaker. He has a ready command of English, but when warmed to his subject softens his pronunciation with just a suave hint of Castilian."⁸²

FUNDING

Once the school had been built, it needed a budgetary appropriation for its expenses. This had to be secured on an annual basis, so the allocation became tinged with politics. Senator del Valle quickly became involved in the effort to ensure that the Branch Normal School received funding. The original construction appropriation of \$50,000 was not sufficient to finish construction, and in 1883 an additional \$10,000 was appropriated for sewage and water connections, heating, and furniture, with a further \$1,000 for landscaping.⁸³ It was not always easy to secure these appropriations. In 1885, Del Valle already had committed to seeking a \$40,000 appropriation for the Branch Normal School and \$10,000 for a state supreme court building in Los Angeles, so he counseled his constituents, some of whom were seeking an asylum and a boys' reform school in the area, against asking for too many items at once, "lest we get nothing." The *Los Angeles Times*, a Republican paper that was not generally a great admirer of the staunchly Democratic Del Valle, on this occasion agreed with his counsel: "[W]e are in favor of going for what is practicable, and opposed to chancing defeat by asking too much all 'to wunst' [at once]."⁸⁴ Thanks to Del Valle's careful political stewardship, the Branch Normal School at Los Angeles received its budget on an annual basis.

AUTONOMOUS GOVERNANCE

Predictably, the Los Angeles branch of the State Normal School chafed under this long-range control; being subordinate to the San José-based board of trustees implied that the branch would never equal the parent institution in respect. During an 1885 visit to Los Angeles by the state assembly's Committee on Education, Mr. Jordan of the committee noted that "the people of Los Angeles were not pleased with the present arrangement, and thought their school would thrive much better if made independent." He agreed "that the Los Angeles school should be more than a branch. . . ."⁸⁵

The solution seemed obvious: the Los Angeles Branch Normal School needed to gain the autonomy to make its own decisions, to grow to fit the situation of developing southern California. It needed its own board of trustees. But could the powers in the state be convinced to allow this young institution to stand on its own feet? Chances for autonomous governance seemed doubtful. The board of trustees offered a partial solution when they suggested adding two more members, specifically from Los Angeles, to the San José-based board.

So, once again, Senator Del Valle took the initiative to secure the school's development. On January 19, the opening day of the 1885 session, Senator Del Valle introduced a bill, SB 19, to amend the political code with respect to the board of trustees of the Normal School.⁸⁶ As described by the *Los Angeles Times*, "The bill provides that the Branch Normal School at Los Angeles should be governed by a separate Board, and not by the present Trustees. Mr. Del Valle argued in favor of the bill, that the people of Los Angeles should have the right to appoint their own teachers."⁸⁷

On the question of autonomous governance he had introduced, there were many possible legislative avenues open to Del Valle. He could have asked for changes in the state codes (political, civil, penal, etc.), the statutes, the state budget, or even the new state constitution. Yet Del Valle decided upon a legislative scheme that involved heavily amending the political code to achieve independence for Los Angeles: sections 354 (establishing a separate board of trustees for Los Angeles), 1487 (defining the goal of the school), 1488 (the management and control of boards of trustees), 1489 (defining the powers and duties of the boards of trustees), 1490 (specifying meetings of the trustees), 1491 (fixing time and place of meeting), 1492 (providing for one annual joint meeting of the separate boards of trustees), 1501 (specifying an annual report to be made by the principal to each board of trustees), 1503 (authorizing the issuing of diplomas), 1504 (appointing and compensating a secretary for each board), 1505, and 1507 (method of expending funds. In addition, SB 19 would repeal section 1506.⁸⁸

But there was still serious opposition from northern legislators, who only grudgingly allowed any institutions at all to the southern end of the state. Two northern senators, Cross and Vrooman, vehemently opposed the bill "on the ground that it would destroy the symmetry of the normal school system, that the people of Los Angeles were doing well in having the branch normal school, without asking for the appointment of the

teachers also.”⁸⁹ Senator Lowe of Santa Clara County, enamored of the idea of another normal school in the north, tangled with Del Valle on the senate floor, and called the young legislator’s behavior “indecent and disrespectful” for his arguments.⁹⁰ Unbowed, the thirty-year-old Del Valle provided the far older senator with a lesson in parliamentary ethics:

Lowe continued discussing the proceedings in the committee, and when he had finished, Del Valle rose and read the Santa Clara Senator a lecture on parliamentary ethics, which was good reading, but which was conspicuously humorous from the fact that Lowe is old enough to be Del Valle’s father, and in the course of Del Valle’s lecture, he compassionately besought the Senators not to judge the Santa Clara member too harshly, as he was young and inexperienced—as a parliamentarian—and would, he hoped, grow in experience and wisdom to know better than to discuss on the floor of the Senate any of the secrets of a committee meeting.⁹¹

As in the 1880 quest to establish a branch school, however, Del Valle ran into opposition that even his skill could not handle. After the Committee on Education recommended the bill be passed, the senate refused to give the bill a first reading, a severe setback to the idea of autonomous governance for Los Angeles. The *Los Angeles Times* commented:

[T]hough it is true that Senator Del Valle has been temporarily defeated in his effort to secure a change by which the Los Angeles Branch Normal may have separate trustees, appointed here, yet, with the favorable feeling existing, it is still entirely within the range of possibility that the measure, if reintroduced, may be passed.⁹²

But the idea of decision-making autonomy for the Los Angeles branch was far from dead. Repeating Del Valle’s 1881 tactic of having a bill headed for defeat in one house suddenly appear in the other, on January 29, Assemblyman Hazard of Los Angeles introduced AB 338, which proposed amending exactly the same twelve sections of the political code as Del Valle had in SB 19 and repealing the same section 1506.⁹³ Once again, the tactic indicates close communication, if not collaboration, between members of the two houses. Meanwhile, in the assembly, bills also were introduced to establish state normal schools in Redding (AB 332)⁹⁴ and Shasta County (AB 403).⁹⁵ Illustrating that tempers were still hot regarding the issue, the assemblyman from Chico offered a hostile amendment to AB 403, removing the Shasta County site and inserting Chico, in Butte County, instead. Once again, the fight became so heated that all mention of specific sites was removed and only a site “in the northern part of the state” was detailed.⁹⁶

Hazard's bill regarding autonomous governance for Los Angeles ran into this competition for additional normal schools. The education committee recommended that his bill, AB 338, not be passed as submitted. Instead, the committee stripped virtually everything from the bill except the proposed amendment to section 1487 and introduced its own innocuous bill, AB 487, to amend that one section of the political code. This watered-down bill did not deal with autonomy for Los Angeles. It did, however, pass the assembly.

After the close of the 1886 special session, Del Valle did not run for reelection to the state senate, having run unsuccessfully for U.S. Congress in 1884.⁹⁷ Despite this, his idea of autonomy for the Branch State Normal School at Los Angeles still had life; for in the 1887 session, Assemblyman Brierly from Los Angeles introduced a bill, AB 450,⁹⁸ to amend the very same twelve sections of the political code (354, 1487, 1488, 1489, 1490, 1491, 1492, 1501, 1503, 1504, 1505, and 1507) and repeal the same single section (1506) that Del Valle had proposed two years earlier. That bill passed its readings, then was approved by the assembly and the senate; and on March 15, 1887, Chapter CXXI of the Statutes and Amendments to the Code announced that "The Normal Schools at San Jose and at Los Angeles . . . shall each have a Board of Trustees."⁹⁹

Although Brierly was the immediate author of the bill that finally achieved autonomous governance for the Branch State Normal School in Los Angeles, Del Valle must be considered the intellectual author of the bill finally carried by Brierly, as Del Valle was the one who developed the legislative scheme to achieve this goal via extensively amending those twelve sections of the political code and repealing a thirteenth. With its own board of trustees for the Los Angeles State Normal School, Los Angeles truly had an institution of higher education that was of, by, and for the people of southern California. The city of Los Angeles was ecstatic—finally, a complete state institution of higher education! The *Los Angeles Times* crowed, "No more 'Branch': our Normal School stands proudly independent." The paper declared that it had been "inexpressibly annoyed by the dependent position in which the school has been kept. It has been tied down with red tape and tagged with the belittling title 'Branch' State Normal School." Now Del Valle's legislative strategy had removed the stigma of being a mere branch. "The normal schools at San Jose and Los Angeles—and any others hereafter established—shall be known as State Normal Schools without any 'branch' business about it." Joyfully the *Times*



A 1922 postcard view of the State Normal School's Vermont Avenue campus, constructed in 1914 and now housing Los Angeles City College. In 1919 the State Normal School became the University of California, Southern Branch. *Security Pacific Collection, Los Angeles Public Library.*

intoned, "Now the friends of the school can sing: 'Believing, we rejoice / to see the curse removed.'"¹⁰⁰

FROM NORMAL SCHOOL TO THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

The State Branch Normal School provided the only access to publicly financed post-secondary education in the southern region, but it was limited by being only a teacher's college. As the population in southern California boomed after 1886, and with Los Angeles County surpassing San Francisco County in population by 1910,¹⁰¹ public pressure grew on the University of California to establish a campus in the southern part of the state. To accommodate a growing student body, the Normal School moved to larger quarters on Vermont Avenue in 1914—now the site of Los Angeles City College—but the demand for education continued to grow. The Regents of the University formed a committee to explore options to satisfy



Photo of platform officials for the March 28, 1930, dedication of the Westwood campus of the University of California, Southern Branch (UCLA). Reginaldo del Valle was not present. *UCLA University Archives, Los Angeles, California.*

this demand. After a site visit to Los Angeles, the committee gave its recommendation: the University of California should absorb the Los Angeles State Normal School and use that as a platform for establishing a new campus of the university. Just as the formal structure of the College of California had been undone and its assets transferred to the nascent Regents in order to create the University of California at Berkeley in 1868, in a simi-

lar fashion the governor, on May 24, 1919, signed legislation repealing Del Valle's earlier accomplishment, "sections one, two and three of an act entitled 'An act to establish a branch state normal school', approved March 14, 1881, abolishing the branch of the state normal school at Los Angeles." Del Valle would not have felt disappointment at the dissolution of his hard-fought legislative victories, however, for they now provided the platform—land, buildings, faculty, courses, and students—upon which the Regents began to erect the University of California at Los Angeles, with the expectation that it would grow in ability and prestige to rival its sister campus at Berkeley in a few years.

Over the next six years, Berkeley faculty traveled to the downtown Los Angeles campus to offer courses, while a much larger site was sought. In 1925, the cities of Los Angeles, Beverly Hills, Santa Monica, and Venice passed a \$2.5-million bond issue to finance the purchase of land and the construction of the first full campus outside of Berkeley. The new campus was finished in 1929, and on "moving day," May 31, students, faculty, staff, and friends physically moved anything portable from the Vermont Street campus to the brand-new Romanesque campus in Westwood,¹⁰² which was dedicated in 1930 without a mention of Del Valle's efforts in creating its predecessor institution.

That Del Valle was central to the establishment of the Los Angeles State Normal School, the predecessor institution to UCLA, had been acknowledged in earlier years; for example, the *Los Angeles Times* in 1905 reported that he once again was to deliver the principal address at the commencement exercises held that year:

Mr. Del Valle is prominently connected with the early history of the Normal School for it was while he was State Senator from Los Angeles that the movement to establish such a School in Southern California had its origin, and it was chiefly due to his efforts that the bill was presented and passed in the Legislature.¹⁰³

Yet, on the day the new campus of the University of California at Los Angeles was dedicated in 1930, he had been forgotten.¹⁰⁴

DEL VALLE: THE FIRST SECOND-GENERATION

The founding of the Los Angeles State Normal School was only the beginning of Del Valle's long career. After an unsuccessful candidacy for Congress in 1884 and nomination for lieutenant governor in 1890, Del Valle

continued active in Democratic Party politics the rest of his life, although he did not seek public office again. Nevertheless, he was frequently rumored to be a candidate for a number of elective and appointed offices: congressman, lieutenant governor, governor, attorney general and ambassador to Mexico and Chile.¹⁰⁵ The final office he accepted was as a member of the City of Los Angeles Public Services Commission, responsible for water, power, and other public services, an appointment he held for twenty-one years.¹⁰⁶ He was president of the commission for most of the period and guided engineer William Mulholland in the development of the water system that made the growth of Los Angeles possible in the twentieth century. During the Owens Valley water wars, when enraged ranchers dynamited the pipeline that brought water to Los Angeles, Del Valle once again used his parliamentary and diplomatic skills to broker a peace that allowed the project to be repaired and water brought once again to the area.¹⁰⁷ He was so influential in the development of Los Angeles from a frontier town to a metropolis that in the 1930s the *Los Angeles Times* credited his vision for guiding that growth:

This member of a 'Californian' family of the easy-going days of the dons, envisioned, as did few others, the hurtling American city of today and worked to make it a reality. To him, as much as to anyone, Los Angeles owes the mighty aqueduct that was built to tap the water sources of the Sierra. His twenty-one years of service with the municipal agency responsible for our water and power development attest the esteem in which his fellow-citizens held him.¹⁰⁸

He practiced law for most of the rest of his life and gained fame as a lawyer who could negotiate settlements in the most difficult cases. He served as a lecturer on parliamentary law in the new Southern California College of Law in 1892¹⁰⁹ and formed a number of law partnerships, including Del Valle and DePuys;¹¹⁰ Del Valle and Mundy;¹¹¹ and Del Valle, Finlayson, and Metcalf.¹¹²

In 1890, he had married the recently widowed daughter of California pioneer Caleb E. White, Helen M. Caystile, and adopted her little daughter, Helen. They had one daughter together, Lucretia del Valle, who later gained fame as an actress and Democratic Party leader in her own right. Reginaldo F. del Valle was prominent in local Euro-American society¹¹³ and belonged to its exclusive clubs. For example, he was not only a charter member of the Los Angeles Athletic Club, but also a sought-after figure whose presence could make or break an evening:



Reginaldo F. del Valle, the influential civic leader credited with guiding Los Angeles from a frontier town to a metropolis. *Security Pacific Collection, Los Angeles Public Library.*

The Hon. R. F. Del Valle was called on and made one of his eloquent and witty speeches. He kept the company in an uproar during the time he was on the floor. It would be next to an impossibility to find a speaker who will put an audience in so good a humor with themselves and the speaker.¹¹⁴

Del Valle also belonged to many Latino organizations, including La Junta Patriótica de Juárez from 1878 to 1906, the Original Young Spanish Americans in 1885, and the Club Cura Hidalgo in 1905. But his participation in Latino issues went far beyond being a member of formal organizations. On a personal level, he involved himself in the lives of other Latinos. As one example among many, in 1902–1903 he defended Severiano Gonzáles, who had been tried, convicted, and sentenced to life imprisonment for the murder of Charles Underwood, a railroad brakeman out for a night on the town in the dives of Sonoratown.¹¹⁵ The public defender assigned to Gonzáles had been unable to pry any information out of him, so the jury had convicted him on the grounds that he must have had something to hide. Del Valle saw things differently. He demonstrated that

González simply could not understand or speak English and hence was unable to provide information in that language. Del Valle waived all fees for his defense of González.¹¹⁶ Interventions such as this, by one of the region's few bilingual lawyers, earned him an award from the Latin Protective League in 1925.¹¹⁷

MEXICAN, NOT SPANISH

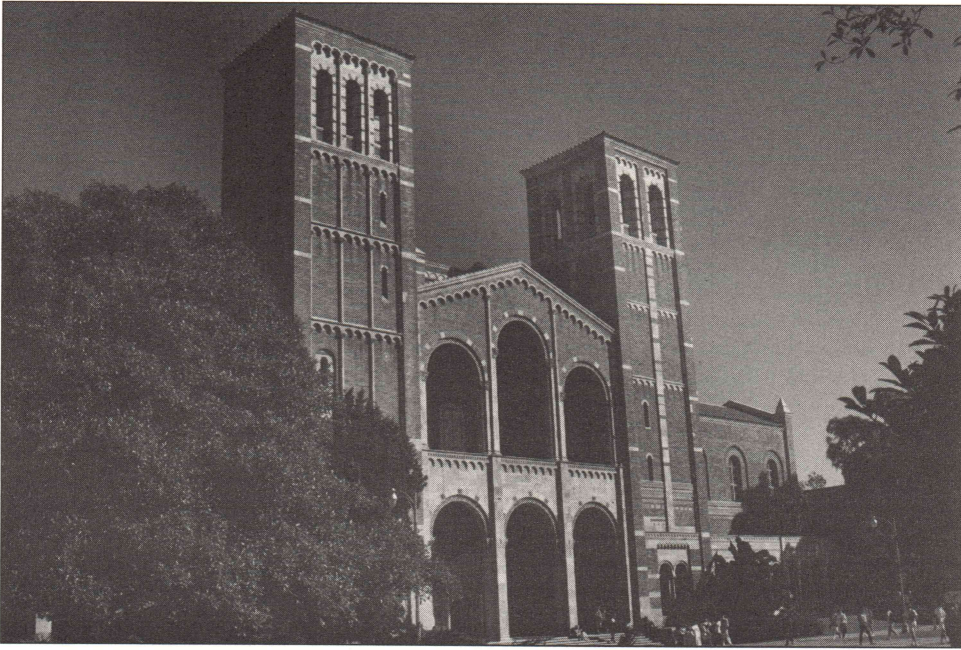
During the critical period from 1890 to 1930, Latino aspects of California's past and present that were acceptable to Euro-American society were labeled "Spanish." What was not acceptable was labeled "Mexican." As Del Valle was an integral member of Los Angeles society, he was consistently referred to in the English-language press as Spanish rather than Mexican. Even his Mexican grandfather's ranch, a land grant from the Mexican government in 1841, whose famed buildings were not finished until 1861, eleven years after California had become a state, was described in 1924 as being "Spanish."¹¹⁸ This irked Del Valle. He went to great pains to try to disabuse Euro-Americans of the myth of the "Spanish" past. The *Los Angeles Times*, a key contributor to the "Spanish is good/Mexican is bad" dichotomy, unconsciously revealed both this dichotomy and Del Valle's rejection of it in its 1938 report of Del Valle's death:

Although he was of a romantic past, he used to poke fun at the over-romancing of California history, and was one of the families of Spanish blood who objected to being called 'Spanish,' insisting that socially California is a continuation of Mexican colonial culture.¹¹⁹

In fact, Del Valle seemed to take a certain delight in puncturing the emergent Euro-American tradition of "romantic California" myths.

[*Los Angeles Times* columnist] Harry Carr . . . would get all pepped up over good old Spanish days and tell how the hospitable families used to have stacks of gold coins on the table to which everybody could help himself as he traveled along from fiesta to fiesta. "That's a lot of bunk," the Senator would explode. "I never saw 'em passing out any gold."¹²⁰

One of the other things that annoyed him was the common Euro-American mispronunciation of his city's name. Time and again, he would bring conversation to a stop and correct the mispronunciation. *Los Angeles Times* columnist Ed Ainsworth noted in 1938, "Recently I met him [Del Valle] at a certain affair and he was saying again how people butcher the pronunciation of Los Angeles and how easy it is to pronounce it right. 'Just say Los Ang-hell-ess' he urged. 'Everybody ought to be able to do that.'"¹²¹



Royce Hall, completed in 1929 in the Lombardy Romanesque style, the hallmark of the Westwood campus of UCLA dedicated in 1930 without reference to R. F. del Valle, the man whose vision made it possible. M. Ovnick (1986).

Del Valle died in 1938, two months after Ainsworth's interview. His death was mourned by Euro-American society as representing the passing of the "days of the dons," a closing of a romantic chapter in California's history. "Reginaldo Francisco del Valle, probably the most distinguished of the old Californians of Spanish blood and speech whose lives carried over into the present century, died of a heart attack early yesterday at his home," stated his obituary in the *Los Angeles Times*.¹²²

Del Valle's legislative skill created the first publicly funded effort in higher education in southern California. The Los Angeles State Normal School played the same role in southern California that the private College of California had played for the north; it formed the institutional foundation on which a flagship campus of the University of California system subsequently was built. Just as Henry Durant is recognized as a forefather for establishing the predecessor institution of the Berkeley campus, so

should Reginald F. del Valle be seen as a forefather of UCLA's predecessor institution. It would be fitting that his contributions be brought from obscurity and publicly recognized as part of UCLA's one-hundredth anniversary in 2019, forgotten no longer.

NOTES

- ¹ Orpha Klinker, "Speaking of Pioneers," *Los Angeles Times*, 7 March 1937, sec. II, p. 4. The authors would like to acknowledge gratefully the assistance of Cecilia Cañada, Branden Jones, Diana Cornejo, and Juan Carlos Cornejo in locating and retrieving materials from the *Los Angeles Times* via the Proquest website.
- ² "Act of the Legislature of California transferring the Los Angeles State Normal School to the Regents of the University of California," *The Statutes and Amendments to the Codes Passed at the Forty-third Session of the Legislature, 1919* (Sacramento, 1919), ch. 412, pp. 820–21.
- ³ Ernest Carroll Moore, *I Helped Make a University* (Los Angeles, 1952), p. 14.
- ⁴ Currently, the California Master Plan for Higher Education gives to the University of California system the responsibility for undergraduate education, as well as graduate and professional-level education, in all areas. The California State University system has responsibility for undergraduate education and some graduate-level education in specified areas. The community college system provides the first two years of undergraduate instruction. The Los Angeles State Normal School provided two years of post-high school education, the equivalent of today's community colleges.
- ⁵ University of California, *Dedication of the University of California at Los Angeles, March 27 and 28, 1930* (Berkeley, 1930).
- ⁶ "Degrees given at ceremonies. Brilliant scenes enacted on U.C.L.A. campus. Great institution accepted in name of state," *Los Angeles Times*, 29 March 1930, p. A1.
- ⁷ Brian McGinty, 1986. "Could One of These Have Been 'The City'?" *California History*, 64:1 (1985): 132.
- ⁸ Carey McWilliams, *Southern California Country: An Island on the Land* (New York: Duell, Sloan & Pierce, 1946), p. 118.
- ⁹ Untitled biographical sketch of Ygnacio del Valle, 7 December 1876, Del Valle Family Papers, box 8, item 1638a, Seaver Center for Western History Research, Los Angeles County Natural History Museum, Los Angeles, CA [hereafter, Del Valle Family Papers].
- ¹⁰ David E. Hayes-Bautista, Paul Hsu, Aidé Pérez, and Miriam Iya Kahramanian, "The Latino Majority has Emerged: Latinos Comprise More Than 50 Percent of All Births in California," Center for the Study of Latino Health and Culture, Division of General Internal Medicine and Health Services Research School of Medicine, UCLA (Los Angeles, 2003).
- ¹¹ Reginaldo F. del Valle to Joseph Lancaster Brent, 9 March 1866, Joseph Lancaster Brent Papers, box 1, item BT229, Huntington Library, San Marino, CA; Frédéric François Cazeaux de Mondran to Reginaldo F. del Valle, 8 July 1866, Del Valle Family Papers, box 5, item 1589.
- ¹² "Reginaldo fue admitido hoy por la Corte suprema, Le doy el parabien." José G. Estudillo to Ysabel Varela del Valle, 10 April 1877, Del Valle Family Papers, box 8, item 0844.
- ¹³ Harris Newmark, *Sixty Years in Southern California, 1853–1913*, ed. Maurice H. Newmark and Marco R. Newmark, 4th ed. (Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1984), pp. 229–30; "Our Business Blocks," *Los Angeles Times*, 1 January 1896, p. 9.
- ¹⁴ Reginaldo F. del Valle, letterhead of letter dated 21 August 1878, Del Valle Family Papers, box 8, item 1626.
- ¹⁵ Rockwell D. Hunt and Nellie Van de Grift Sanchez, *A Short History of California* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1937), pp. 541–54.
- ¹⁶ *Journal of the Assembly during the Twenty-Third Session of the Legislature of the State of California, 1880* (Sacramento, 1880), p. 3 [hereafter abbreviated as *Journal*, 1880].
- ¹⁷ California State Archives, California Secretary of State. Constitution of the State of California [1849]. www.ss.ca.gov/archives/level3_const1849txt.html.
- ¹⁸ *Journal*, 1880, p. 944.
- ¹⁹ *Journal*, 1880, p. 263.

- ²⁰ "Table showing the relative advantages which certain counties receive from the State Normal School of San José and indicating the necessity for Branch Normal Schools," Nevada City, CA, 1880, Valle (Reginaldo F. del) Collection, box 1, item HM 43967, Huntington Library, San Marino, CA.
- ²¹ John G. Downey to Reginaldo F. del Valle, 22 February 1880, Del Valle Family Papers, box 8, item 1946.
- ²² *Journal*, 1880, p. 343.
- ²³ *Journal*, 1880, p. 343.
- ²⁴ *Journal*, 1880, p. 357.
- ²⁵ *Journal*, 1880, p. 374.
- ²⁶ *Journal*, 1880, p. 386.
- ²⁷ *Journal*, 1880, p. 380.
- ²⁸ *Journal*, 1880, pp. 539-40. One of the six bills did not specify a site.
- ²⁹ *Journal*, 1880, p. 579.
- ³⁰ *Journal*, 1880, p. 607.
- ³¹ *Journal*, 1880, p. 658; Ygnacio Sepúlveda to Joseph Lancaster Brent, 1 April 1880, Joseph Lancaster Brent Papers, box 1, item BT 197, Huntington Library, San Marino, CA.
- ³² *Journal*, 1880, p. 682.
- ³³ *Journal*, 1880, p. 682.
- ³⁴ *Journal*, 1880, p. 687.
- ³⁵ *Journal*, 1880, p. 687.
- ³⁶ *Journal*, 1880, p. 689.
- ³⁷ *Journal*, 1880, p. 690.
- ³⁸ *Journal*, 1880, p. 691.
- ³⁹ *Journal*, 1880, p. 701.
- ⁴⁰ *Journal*, 1880, p. 706.
- ⁴¹ *Journal*, 1880, p. 706.
- ⁴² *Journal*, 1880, p. 707.
- ⁴³ *Journal*, 1880, p. 707.
- ⁴⁴ *Journal*, 1880, p. 707.
- ⁴⁵ *Journal*, 1880, p. 707.
- ⁴⁶ *Journal*, 1880, p. 718.
- ⁴⁷ *Journal*, 1880, p. 730.
- ⁴⁸ *Journal*, 1880, p. 733.
- ⁴⁹ *Journal*, 1880, p. 733.
- ⁵⁰ *Journal*, 1880, p. 733.
- ⁵¹ *Journal*, 1880, p. 768.
- ⁵² *Journal*, 1880, p. 768.
- ⁵³ *Journal*, 1880, p. 769.
- ⁵⁴ *Journal*, 1880, p. 836.
- ⁵⁵ *Journal*, 1880, p. 856.
- ⁵⁶ *Journal*, 1880, p. 856.
- ⁵⁷ *Journal*, 1880, p. 896.
- ⁵⁸ *Journal*, 1880, p. 777.
- ⁵⁹ "The New Law College," *Los Angeles Times*, 6 January 1892, p. 3.
- ⁶⁰ *Journal of the Assembly during the Twenty-Fourth Session of the Legislature of the State of California*, 1881 (Sacramento, 1881), pp. 1-2 [hereafter abbreviated as *Journal*, 1881].
- ⁶¹ *Journal*, 1881, p. 3.
- ⁶² *Journal*, 1881, p. 12.
- ⁶³ James R. Martin, *The University of California (in Los Angeles): A Resume of the Selection and Acquisition of the Westwood Site* (Los Angeles: [publisher not identified], 1925), pp. 31-32.
- ⁶⁴ "The Parliamentary Waste-basket 'Statesman,'" *Los Angeles Times*, 3 November 1882, p. 2.
- ⁶⁵ *Ibid.*
- ⁶⁶ *Journal*, 1881, p. 221.
- ⁶⁷ "Sacramento. A Tilt Between Our Del Valle and Lowe, of Santa Clara," *Los Angeles Times*, 8 February 1885, p. 2.

- ⁶⁸ *The Los Angeles State Normal School: A Quarter Centennial History, 1882-1907* (Los Angeles: [publisher not identified], 1907), p. 4.
- ⁶⁹ *Journal*, 1881, p. 428.
- ⁷⁰ *Journal*, 1881, p. 428.
- ⁷¹ *Journal*, 1881, p. 450.
- ⁷² Martin, p. 32.
- ⁷³ "The New Normal. Complete Description of the Southern California Branch," *Los Angeles Times*, 17 December 1881, p. 3.
- ⁷⁴ This now is the site of the main branch of the Los Angeles Public Library, built in 1925.
- ⁷⁵ "The New Normal. Complete Description of the Southern California Branch," *Los Angeles Times*, 17 December 1881, p. 3.
- ⁷⁶ "A Corner Stone. The Imposing Ceremonies at the New Normal School," *Los Angeles Times*, 18 December 1881, p. 5.
- ⁷⁷ "Notice to Plumbers," *Los Angeles Times*, 5 January 1882, p. 2.
- ⁷⁸ "Normal School: Meeting of the Trustees and Business Transacted," *Los Angeles Times*, 4 January 1882, p. 2.
- ⁷⁹ "Normal School: Meeting of the Board of Trustees-Contracts Let," *Los Angeles Times*, 28 February 1882, p. 3.
- ⁸⁰ "The New Normal: Interesting Ceremonies at its Dedication Yesterday," *Los Angeles Times*, 10 September 1882, p. 2.
- ⁸¹ "Illustrious and Illustrated: The Scions of the Legislature 'Done Up,'" *Los Angeles Times*, 7 March 1885, p. 4. "Cushing's unabridged" refers to Luther Stearns Cushing's 1863 *Lex Parliamentaria Americana. Elements of the Law and Practice of Legislative Assemblies in the United States of America*. "Uncle William Parks" was William Parks, Republican of Yuba County, Speaker of the State Assembly during the 1885 session; see *The Journal of the Assembly during the Twenty-Sixth Session of the Legislature of the State of California, 1885* (Sacramento, 1885), pp. 3-4 [hereafter abbreviated as *Journal*, 1885].
- ⁸² "Illustrious and Illustrated: The Scions of the Legislature 'Done Up,'" *Los Angeles Times*, 7 March 1885, p. 4.
- ⁸³ *The Statutes of California and Amendments to the Codes Passed at the Twenty-fifth Session of the Legislature, 1883* (Sacramento, 1883), p. 281.
- ⁸⁴ Editorial, *Los Angeles Times*, 17 January 1885, p. 1.
- ⁸⁵ "An Independent Normal," *Los Angeles Times*, 5 February 1885, p. 2.
- ⁸⁶ *Complete History of Senate Bills and Concurrent Resolutions. Twenty-sixth Session, California Legislature* (Sacramento, [California Supt. State Printing], 1885), p. 1.
- ⁸⁷ "Sacramento. The Senate Discusses the Los Angeles Normal School," *Los Angeles Times*, 30 January 1885, p. 1.
- ⁸⁸ *Complete History of Senate Bills* (1885), p. 1; *The Statutes of California and Amendments to the Codes, Passed at the Twenty-Seventh Session of the Legislature, 1887* (Sacramento, [California Supt. State Printing], 1887), pp. 136-39. The contents of this bill, as submitted successively by Del Valle, Hazard, and Brierly, were described in the legislative records only by the relevant political code section numbers. Once the bill finally was approved, as AB 450, the statutes provided a brief description of each of the section numbers, as included above in the text. The statutes, however, provide no description of section 1505 or of the repealed section 1506. Although section 1505 is mentioned in the title of the new statute as among those amended, all description of it inexplicably has been omitted from the body of the bill as passed.
- ⁸⁹ Ibid.
- ⁹⁰ "California Legislature," *Los Angeles Times*, 6 February 1885, p. 1.
- ⁹¹ "A Breeze in the Senate," *Los Angeles Times*, 8 February 1885, p. 5.
- ⁹² "An Independent Normal," *Los Angeles Times*, 5 February 1885, p. 2.
- ⁹³ *Journal*, 1885, p. 136.
- ⁹⁴ *Journal*, 1885, p. 136.
- ⁹⁵ *Journal*, 1885, p. 160.
- ⁹⁶ *Journal*, 1885, p. 261.
- ⁹⁷ George Lorando Lawson, Outline of Reginaldo F. del Valle's political career up to 1912, Valle (Reginaldo F. del) Papers, box 3, item 43811, Huntington Library, San Marino, CA.

- ⁹⁸ *The Journal of the Assembly during the Twenty-Seventh Session of the Legislature of the State of California*, 1887 (Sacramento, [California Supt. State Printing], 1887), p. 228.
- ⁹⁹ *The Statutes of California and Amendments to the Codes, Passed at the Twenty-Seventh Session of the Legislature*, 1887 (Sacramento, [California Supt. State Printing], 1887), pp. 136–39.
- ¹⁰⁰ “No More ‘Branch’: Our Normal School Stands Proudly Independent,” *Los Angeles Times*, 14 March 1887, p. 1.
- ¹⁰¹ California State Department of Finance, Demographic Research Unit, *Historical Census. Populations of California State, Counties, Cities, Places and Towns, 1850–2000* (2005). Available at: www.dof.ca.gov/HTML/DEMOGRAPH/Histtext.htm. Accessed 9 May 2005.
- ¹⁰² Verne A. Stadtman, *The University of California, 1868–1968* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1970), p. 234.
- ¹⁰³ “State Normal: Commencement Address by Del Valle, Unusual Demand Now for Teachers,” *Los Angeles Times*, 1 February 1905, sec. II, p. 4.
- ¹⁰⁴ *Addresses Delivered at the Dedication of the New Campus and New Buildings of the University of California at Los Angeles. March 27 and 28, 1930* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1930.)
- ¹⁰⁵ Untitled article, *Los Angeles Times*, 8 May 1885, p. 1; “A Political Lottery,” *Los Angeles Times*, 10 January 1886, p. 2; “Personal News,” *Los Angeles Times*, 25 August 1886, p. 4; “Democratic Congressional Situation,” *Los Angeles Times*, 22 August 1892, p. 4; “Under the Plum Tree,” *Los Angeles Times*, 23 March 1893, p. 2; “Coming to a Head: That Democratic Convention at ‘Frisco,’” *Los Angeles Times*, 21 August 1894; “Politics,” *Los Angeles Times*, 16 April 1898, p. 6; “Much Like a Funeral,” *Los Angeles Times*, 31 August 1902, p. 2; “For Ambassador to Mexico,” *Los Angeles Times*, 3 April 1913, sec. II, p. 6; and E. H. Owen, letter to the editor, “Del Valle for Governor,” *Los Angeles Times*, 22 December 1913, sec. II, p. 5.
- ¹⁰⁶ “Honor Paid Del Valle at Dinner,” *Los Angeles Times*, 24 July 1929, p. A8.
- ¹⁰⁷ “Help Promised Owens Valley,” *Los Angeles Times*, 15 October 1927, p. A1.
- ¹⁰⁸ “Senator del Valle,” *Los Angeles Times*, 23 September 1938, p. A4.
- ¹⁰⁹ “The New Law College: Opening of the Institution Last Night,” *Los Angeles Times*, 6 January, 1892, p. 3.
- ¹¹⁰ “The Wife-whaler: A Hung Jury in the Groben Case,” *Los Angeles Times*, 22 August 1882, p. 4.
- ¹¹¹ “The City in Brief,” *Los Angeles Times*, 15 August 1888, p. 8.
- ¹¹² “Personal,” *Los Angeles Times*, 2 March 1903, p. 14.
- ¹¹³ We here use the more familiar term “Euro-American,” but a more accurate one might be “Atlantic-American,” which does not stipulate membership in any specific ethnic group. Atlantic-American society is that largely British-derived culture that was formed on the Atlantic coast of North America in early modern times and subsequently spread west with the territorial expansion of the United States. Persons of any ethnicity could, and in the modern-day United States do, participate in this culture, including those of African descent.
- ¹¹⁴ “Athletic Hall: The New Club Room Dedicated Last Night,” *Los Angeles Times*, 26 January 1882, p. 3.
- ¹¹⁵ “Sonoratown” was the designation for the Latino neighborhood centered on La Plaza, in downtown Los Angeles, where Del Valle had been born.
- ¹¹⁶ “Doubt of It Is Horrible: Sentenced to Living Death and May Be Innocent,” *Los Angeles Times*, 1 February 1903, p. C7.
- ¹¹⁷ Richard Griswold del Castillo, “The Del Valle Family and the Fantasy Heritage,” *California History* 59 (1980): 2–15.
- ¹¹⁸ “Ramona’s Home Is Sold,” *Los Angeles Times*, 24 May 1924, p. A8.
- ¹¹⁹ “Death Calls to Del Valle,” *Los Angeles Times*, 22 September 1938, p. A1.
- ¹²⁰ Ed Ainsworth, “Along El Camino Real with Ed Ainsworth,” *Los Angeles Times*, 22 September 1938, p. A15.
- ¹²¹ *Ibid.*
- ¹²² “Death Calls to Del Valle,” *Los Angeles Times*, 22 September 1938, p. A1.



A Century Later, Chinatown Revisits History of Quake

4/7/06

Facing San Francisco Ouster,

Survivors Stood Ground;

Mr. Lee's Bayonet Wound

By REBECCA SMITH

SAN FRANCISCO—Bruce Quan Jr. didn't know much about his great-grandfather before he noticed intriguing references connecting him to the great earthquake and fire that destroyed this city on April 18, 1906.

When Mr. Quan, a 59-year-old law professor, asked his great-aunt for more information, she retrieved two boxes that had been sitting in her attic since the 1940s. As he rummaged through the papers and photographs dating from the early 20th century, Mr. Quan recalls thinking: "Wow. This is it."

As the centennial of the earthquake approaches, Mr. Quan and others in San Francisco's Chinese-American community have embarked on a journey of rediscovery, mining family histories



Lee Yoke Suey, pictured in the proof of citizenship document he recovered after the 1906 earthquake and fire.

Connie Young Yu

and learning some surprising things along the way.

From the bits and pieces of personal history Mr. Quan recovered, he learned that his great-grandfather, Lew Hing, was one of a group of Chinese merchants who stood their ground against civic leaders who wanted to move Chinatown, and instead demanded to rebuild it where it had always been.

The disaster was a "defining moment" for Chinese America, says Philip P. Choy, an architect and preservationist born in Chinatown in 1926. Chinatown's merchants confronted anti-Chinese elements and insisted on their right to self-determination.

Rose Pak, a Chinatown community leader and consultant to the city's Chinese Chamber of Commerce, says she has been pushing Chinese-American families to compile their histories to build a record of the disaster from Chinatown's perspective. Ms. Pak, 57, says she warned museums and city officials preparing to mark the 100th anniversary not to forget the suffering and mistreatment of Chinatown's residents.

Some descendants of those who lived through the disaster are now talking for the first time about what their ancestors

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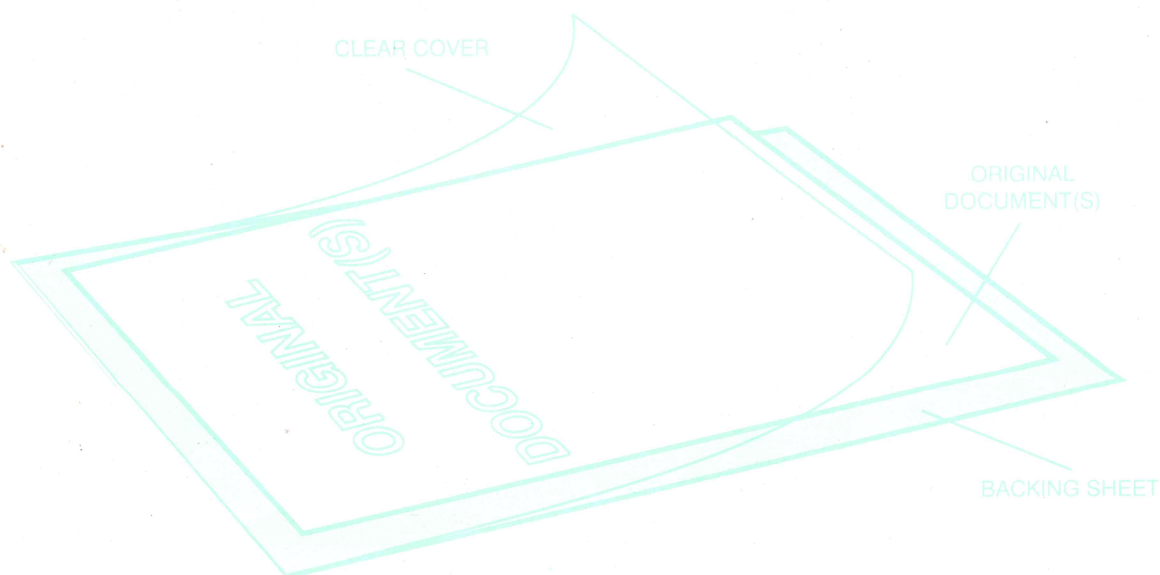
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A Century Later, Chinatown Revisits History of Quake

Continued From First Page
4-7-06

tors went through. Connie Young Yu, 64, a historian who has written extensively about the Chinese-American experience, is one.

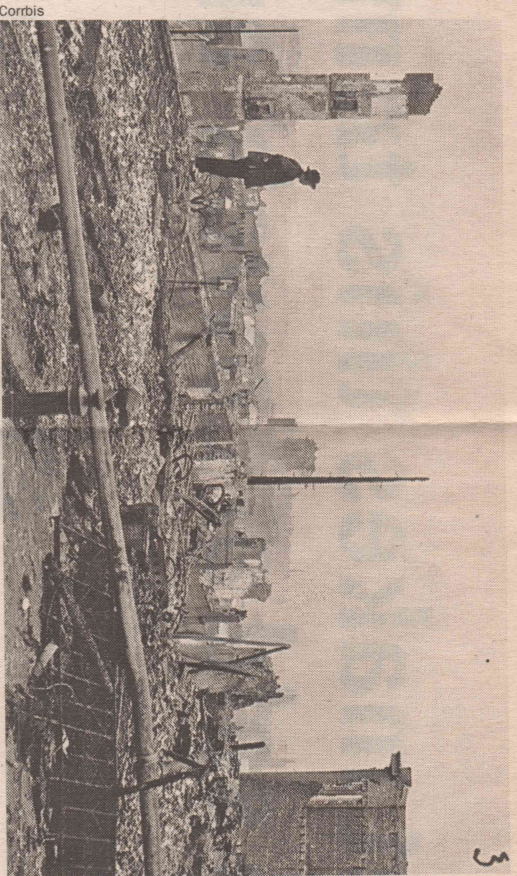
She did not fully appreciate until this year, she says, that her grandfather, merchant Lee Yoke Suey, "risked his life" after the disaster to recover proof of citizenship. The centennial, she says, "gives us a reason to find this hidden history."

In the boxes recovered from the attic, Mr. Quan found personal letters, photographs, business papers, letters of introduction, promissory notes, even a pair of tiny shoes that belonged to his great-grandmother, who had bound feet. The material led him to dig into historical accounts of early Chinatown and of the disaster. Eventually, he pieced together one small slice of the story of how the great earthquake upended, then brought together, the city's Chinese community.

Mr. Lew immigrated from Southern China in 1869, at age 12, and went to work for an older brother. By 1906, he owned Pacific Coast Canning Co., one of the largest canneries in the West, which employed 1,000 seasonal workers in Oakland. Later investments included a bank, steamship line and hotel.

The 1906 earthquake hit before dawn, toppling buildings, buckling streets and rupturing water lines. Fire broke out immediately. As it closed in on Mr. Lew's large house in Chinatown, he fled with his wife to his Oakland cannery. Mr. Quan learned. When the fire was extinguished three days later, his house was destroyed, more than half the city was a smoldering ruin, 200,000 people were homeless and thousands more were dead or missing. Even today, it ranks as the worst urban fire in U.S. history.

For many whites, the Chinatown of old had a lurid reputation for gambling, opium smoking, "idol worship," and



San Francisco's Chinatown after the 1906 earthquake

prostitution. A bubonic plague scare in 1900 had stirred fear that Chinatown would become a breeding ground for contagious disease, as well. Its 20,000 residents had deflected previous efforts to push them off the valuable strip of land they occupied between the mission district atop Nob Hill and the commercial district at its base, according to historical accounts.

At first, it looked as though the earthquake would be the event that finally wiped Chinatown off the map. At his Oakland cannery, Mr. Lew heard distressing reports of Chinese refugees being rounded up by soldiers and herded from one holding area to another, Mr. Quan discovered.

Mr. Lew got the word out, "that anyone who could get to Oakland on the ferry would be taken in" at his cannery, says Mr. Quan. Many of the 4,000 refugees who came to Oakland wound up there, where Mr. Lew fed and clothed some of them for months, he says.

Ms. Yu, the historian, who lives outside San Francisco in Los Altos Hills,

had balked for years about sharing the story of what happened to her grandfather, Mr. Lee, after the earthquake. She says it was too humiliating.

As the fire approached, her grandfather bundled his family off to safety, then returned alone to his family's Chinatown store to retrieve important papers, including his proof of citizenship, according to family accounts. A soldier rushed into the store, and mistaking him for a looter, bayoneted him in the side, he later told family members. His injuries weren't serious, partly because he was wearing a Chinese-style quilted jacket, and he escaped with his documents, which Ms. Yu now has.

Ms. Yu says she decided to share his story for the first time this month during a panel discussion about the earthquake at the Chinese Historical Society of America in Chinatown. She was motivated, she says, by descriptions she'd read about black residents of New Orleans being mistaken for looters after

the hurricane. Five days after the earthquake, San Francisco's white leaders formed a committee to relocate Chinatown to an isolated area of slaughterhouses and mud flats on the city's southern fringe, which they planned to call "Oriental City." Some Chinatown businessmen thought it pointless to resist. But Mr. Quan's great-grandfather, Mr. Lew, and others considered it essential to rebuild their old neighborhood.

When they met with city officials, Chinatown's merchants gambled. If denied the opportunity to rebuild, they said, they would move, en masse, to Seattle or Los Angeles "or some other community that wanted them and would treat them better," according to Sue Lee, executive director of the Chinese Historical Society.

City leaders did not want to lose valuable trade controlled by Chinatown merchants. Chinese workers swiftly began rebuilding, and the relocation effort collapsed, according to San Francisco historian Gladys Hansen.

Chinatown had been filled with brick buildings dating from the Gold Rush. In their place, merchants and community associations erected new "Oriental"-style buildings, many with multi-tier pagoda-type roofs, fancy tile and iron work and colorful paint. The style was not authentically Chinese—the fancy roofs in Chinatown were put on commercial buildings, not Buddhist shrines—but they appealed to tourists. They also marked the neighborhood as Chinese, which Mr. Choy, the architect, characterizes as a "tactical response" to the "threat of removal and annihilation."

Mr. Lee reopened the family store in 1907 in a building made of clinker, or salvaged bricks fused together by the fire. Mr. Quan's great-grandfather, Mr. Lew, erected a building with Chinese details that stands today in the heart of Chinatown.



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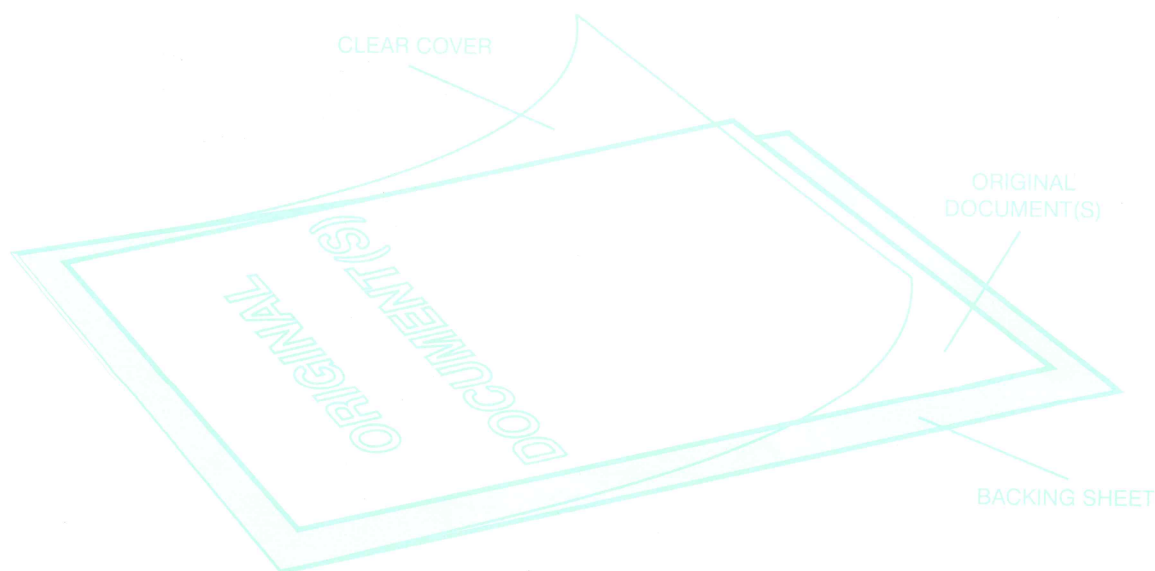
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THE HUMAN GEOGRAPHY OF CATASTROPHE

Family Bonds, Community Ties,
and Disaster Relief After
the 1906 San Francisco
Earthquake and Fire

By Andrea Henderson

Catastrophes are not merely “natural,” emanating from a place in nature outside the bounds of society. Instead, urban disasters gain their meaning from a constellation of factors such as pre-disaster building construction, neighborhood topography, and the economic resources of city residents. Urban disasters may appear to be social equalizers, but their victims are never equal because pre-existing social conditions create greater vulnerability during times of crisis. Independent responses to catastrophe not only reveal social inequities, but amplify them. Even before organized rescue and relief efforts take action, survivors mitigate urban destruction by relying on pre-disaster social networks. This was evident after the April 18, 1906, San Francisco earthquake and fire. At 5:12 in the morning, a 7.8-magnitude earthquake shook the city for over one minute, followed by three days of continuous fires. In a matter of days, the catastrophe caused \$350 million worth of damage and destroyed over 28,000 structures in a 4.7-square-mile area of business and residential districts. Multiple social groups simultaneously lost their homes: South of Market’s Irish and German working-class populations, Chinatown’s Chinese resi-

dents, Western Addition's middle-classes, Nob Hill's elites, and North Beach's Italians. "The question is, where are we going to live," wrote one disaster survivor three days after the earthquake. "Oh well 300,000 are asking the same question."¹ By the end of the summer, newly minted disaster relief policies governed the social and spatial recovery of San Francisco. But before relief policy altered the urban landscape, refugee relocation began to change the shape of the city and the surrounding Bay Area.²

FAMILY BONDS, COMMUNITY TIES

The city's broken buildings, eye-watering smoke, and falling ashes obscured the fact that the movement of nearly two-thirds of the urban population altered the human landscape above the ground as much as the fault lines below. The earthquake and its aftermath shocked not only the city, but the surrounding Bay Area. As far south as Palo Alto, residents witnessed the smoke and light hovering above the city and heard the surreal rumble of dynamite deployed to halt the spread of fire. To the north in Marin County, the blazing city generated enough light for residents to sit outside and read the daily paper after their evening meal.³ San Francisco's visceral impact on the Bay Area was solidified by the relocation patterns of the city's refugees, 75 percent of whom left the city by ferry or train to travel to suburban points in the Bay Area.⁴ Others fled on foot, dragging their possessions to the perimeter of the city and beyond. In San Mateo County, just south of San Francisco, relief volunteers handed out sandwiches and coffee to "the many walking down the peninsula to join relatives they were unable to contact ahead of time."⁵ Refugees simply could not wait for aid from municipal or federal governments unprepared for the disaster. Instead of waiting for aid to reach them, they moved toward available sources of aid: their relatives and neighbors. The large numbers who left the city in search of family and community radically altered the Bay Area's human geography. As historian Mel Scott has pointed out, the "sudden, forced absorption of thousands of families sent fleeing from the stricken metropolis" accelerated Bay Area development.⁶

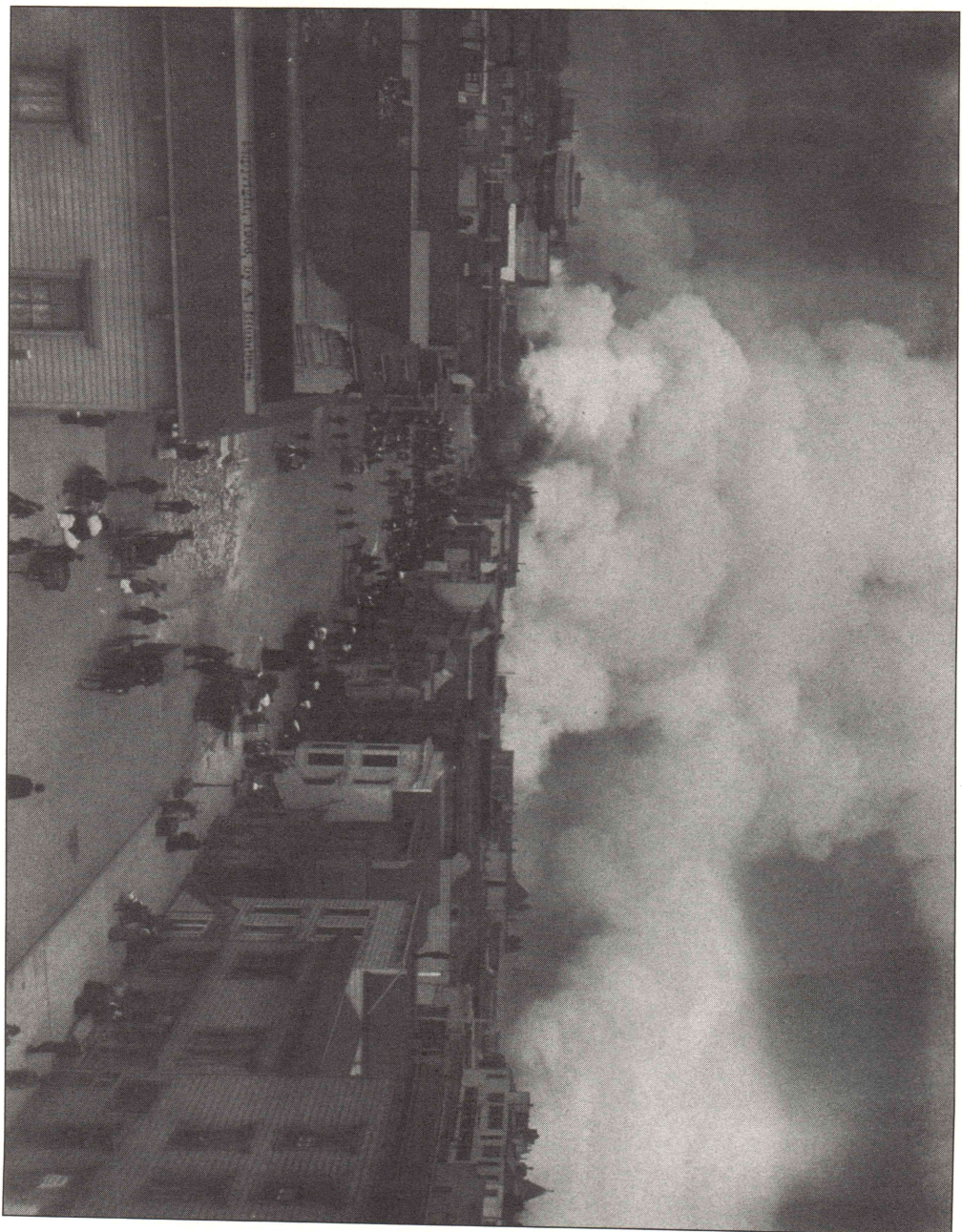
Refugees who relied on family networks after the catastrophe were not limited to a specific class, racial, or ethnic group. Earthquake tremors and searing heat affected nearly every type of urban home: the mansions and Victorians on Nob Hill and Van Ness Avenue, Irish and German working-class flats and boarding houses South of Market, Italian homes and storefronts in North Beach, and the tightly clustered businesses and residences



Fire and destruction, San Francisco, April 18, 1906.
Courtesy of the Museum of the City of San Francisco.

Crowds fleeing down Market Street to the Ferry.
 Market Street at the foot of California Street, April 18, 1906.
 (Roy D. Graves Collection.) *Courtesy The Bancroft Library.*
University of California, Berkeley.





Fire burning, probably from South of Market or the Mission District.
Photo by A. Blumberg. *Courtesy of The Bancroft Library. University of California, Berkeley.*

in Chinatown. While most refugees left the city, the 100,000 refugees who remained in San Francisco represented residents from each of these neighborhoods.⁷

Family and friends residing closest to the disaster zone provided the first resources for relief. In the working-class South of Market district, for example, a young family turned to nearby relatives after watching their flat burn: "It was an awful sight for our poor mother to see all her belongings, that she had accumulated since her marriage, go up in smoke. . . . My mother decided that the only place we could go for shelter was to her sister's home." The aunt's undamaged house on Potrero Hill became the relief center for any relative struck by the disaster, and, despite the needs of her immediate family, "she managed to make room for everyone as they were relatives." For San Francisco's working class, neighbors supported family networks. This relative, in turn, relied on her neighbors for support: "My aunt immediately called her neighbors and asked for clothes and shoes for us, and it seemed the word went around like wild-fire because soon after everyone was bringing us clothes and shoes and other things."⁸ On the west side of town, the recollections of the son of an Irish fire department officer echoed this experience: "Everyone, like our family, offered shelter to relatives and friends." Friday, April 20th was remembered as "the night of deluge" at their home near Golden Gate Park as relatives "started to arrive . . . with only the clothes on their backs." After the fires were extinguished and smoke drifted lazily across the city, thirty-five relatives carved out additional living space in the basement of his family's home, "which was immediately partitioned by one of the men." The expansion of their private home was extended into the public street, where the boy's mother found herself preparing meals in front of her house on a lean-to stove built from salvaged bricks and sheet iron.⁹

Chinatown residents also relied on family and community networks. Two-parent families remained intact throughout the catastrophe, often expanding to include the single men who were their neighbors and employees. "When the earthquake started, my father said, 'No time to pack anything,'" recalled Chinatown resident Bessie Shum. "My father had to carry [mother] and a neighbor carried me."¹⁰ Leland Chin remembered how his family left their home on California Street to meet "the whole family, and [their] employees and neighbors in our building" at his father's shop on Taylor Street. They walked together as a group and later spent the night at a park near Chinatown.¹¹ Edwar [sic] Lee, also living with his family in Chi-

natown, joined tenants from a nearby building before evacuating as a group to the East Bay. Out of necessity, Chinatown refugees took their family, friends, and neighbors with them, using these social networks to navigate life outside their pre-disaster homes. Alice Sue Fun, whose father lost his boarding house on the first day of the disaster, spent the first three nights after the earthquake sleeping on the lawn of a nearby park with her family. "I had my younger brother by the hand and my mother was pregnant," recalled Fun. "Oh, it was hard then."¹²

A city-wide post-disaster ban on indoor cooking intensified neighborhood connections in middle- and upper-class neighborhoods. Street stoves literally brought the central component of the domestic realm, the kitchen, into the public sphere. "During meal times one saw the entire neighborhood out on the street doing their cooking," recalled Edith Rosenshine. "[N]eighbors were friendlier than they had ever been in their lives. People spoke who never even nodded before."¹³ Street kitchens, coupled with a limited food supply, exposed middle- and upper-class residents to their neighbors. A boy staying at his grandmother's home near Golden Gate Park remembered standing in line for a piece of salt pork: "We would come home with it, then we would go around to the neighbors and trade whatever they got."¹⁴ Homeowners near the Golden Gate Park's panhandle not only cooked but slept outside. The neighbors threw card parties at their outdoor kitchens, gathered in front of one neighbor's house "every evening until taps [was] sounded," and slept in close enough proximity to know who snored. Hazel Snell, who described their experiences in a "published" handwritten, satirical newspaper, *The Bum-Hill Gazette*, reminded her neighbors: "Where ever I hang my hat is home sweet home to me."¹⁵ The solidarity of family and neighborhood networks stood in for the damaged built environment, often creating stronger social bonds in the process.

Extended family networks also spared many middle- and upper-class families from the shortcomings of disaster relief. Refugees who gathered together at the homes of their friends and relatives pooled their resources and cooked collectively. One San Franciscan explained to her sister why they stood in line for relief rations: "Not that we need it, personally, but we can never tell when somebody that we know will apply to us for shelter and so we take all the food that we can get."¹⁶ Families that depended on relief rations alone suffered the consequences. Although refugees were promised meat, fresh vegetables, and staples starting May 1, 1906, the rations distributed did not live up to their savory descriptions.¹⁷ A disappointed work-



A sidewalk home. April 1906.
(Roy D. Graves Collection.) *Courtesy of The Bancroft Library.*
University of California, Berkeley.

ing-class mother walked her rations to the Chief Sanitary Inspector's office and confronted him with her weekly allotment for a family of seven: a handful of vegetables that were either bruised or covered with "coal oil or some oily substance," one package of contaminated tea, and one three-pound piece of meat that had been "fly-blown" and was "in an advanced state of decomposition."¹⁸ Only the help of family and friends compensated for inadequacies in relief supplies.

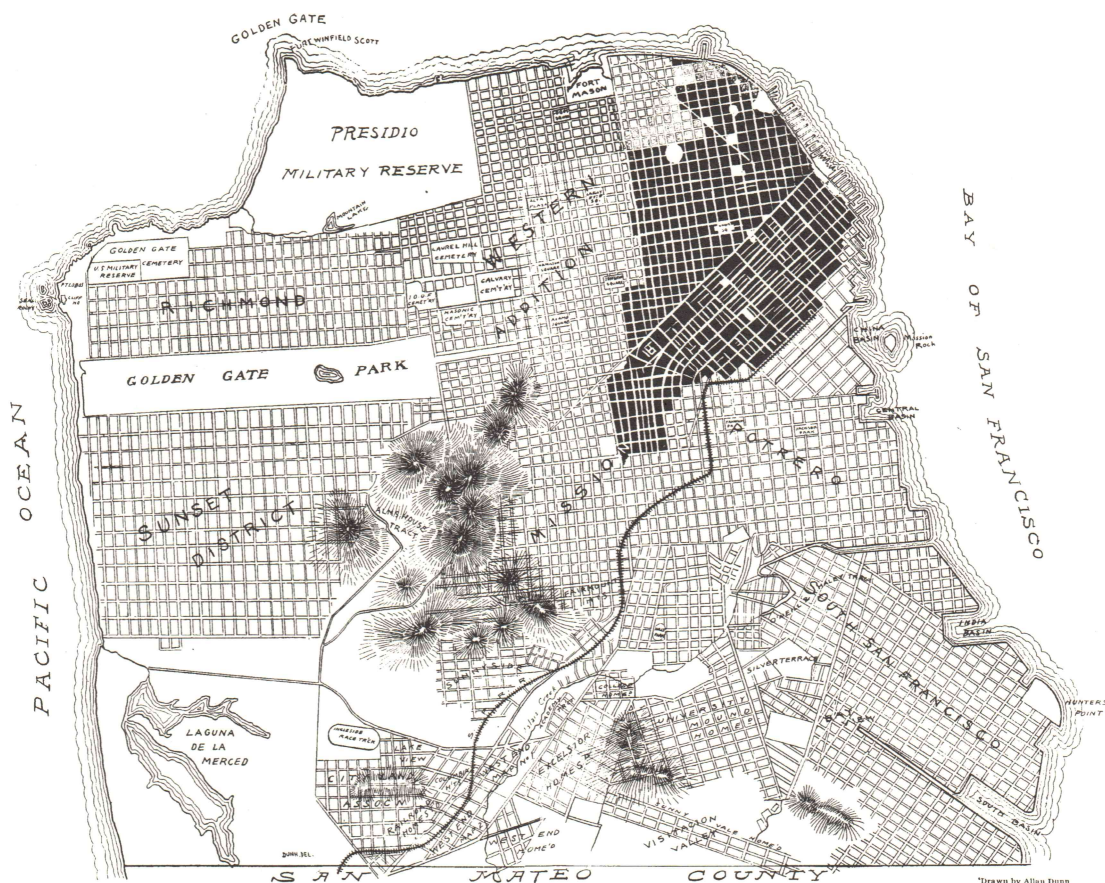
Refugees without nearby relatives relied on other social connections as they clustered in small groups and camped outside. After their California mission headquarters was destroyed, for example, San Francisco's few Mormon families set up a temporary camp at nearby Jefferson Square.¹⁹ A handwritten sign at the mission ruins directed church members to the collectively run camp, where they shared groceries taken by missionaries from a local store slated for demolition.²⁰ In the South of Market district,



Refugees camped near the Ferry Building, San Francisco, April 1906.
Special Collections & Archives, Merrill Library, Utah State University.

home to most of the city's single, male laborers, one family and their tenants re-configured their household as a collectively run camp. "We collected a committee on our grounds to get food for the people in our camp, The Camp Bryant, after the street we are on," recalled one boarder, "and we are getting along nicely."²¹ Along the city's northern edge, an Irish family of five from Telegraph Hill camped on a sandy lot near the waterfront where they battled the perpetual bay winds. Undaunted by the sand that whipped across their campsite, their mother was determined to keep the family together during their fireside meals.²²

Access to land outside the city promised physical safety and the possibility to resume pre-disaster social life. For many wealthy San Franciscans, the familiar mantle of class status awaited their arrival at their summer homes north and south of San Francisco. Pushed from their elite neighborhoods and caught up in the rush of refugees on the city's piers, anxious gentlemen and ladies temporarily abandoned social etiquette. "[O]h, the women and babies—the women and babies! We are tired of hearing this kind of thing," was a collective cry heard on one ferry landing in response to the command to permit women and babies to board first. "This brutal-



OUTLINE MAP OF SAN FRANCISCO, SHOWING THE BURNED DISTRICT, IN BLACK, COMPRISING ABOUT ONE-SIXTH OF THE TOTAL AREA OF THE CITY. NOTE THE FACT THAT THE ENTIRE WATER FRONT WAS SAVED. Drawn by Allan Dunn

SAN FRANCISCO NEIGHBORHOODS AND DISASTER ZONE, 1906.

From San Francisco Relief Survey; *The Organization and Methods of Relief Used after the Earthquake and Fire of April 18, 1906*. Comp. from studies by Charles J. O'Connor, Francis H. McLean, Helen Swett Artieda, James Marvin Motley, Jessica Peixotto, and Mary Roberts Coolidge. (New York: Survey Associates, 1913).
 Courtesy of Department of Special Collections, Stanford University Libraries.

ity was not displayed by people of rough exterior," recalled one refugee waiting for East Bay transport, "but by well dressed men and women."²³ A wealthy male refugee who boarded a steamer acquired "through the aid of influential friends" described being spared from two dangers—the fires and the crowd of refugees: "our party went on board the steamer, the whistle blew, and we were saved. Water separated us from the fire and the mob." Safety was attained at his family country home in Marin County where, he reassuringly wrote to his sister, he was "breathing pure air, drinking pure water, smelling the aroma of flowers, [and] hearing the birds sing."²⁴

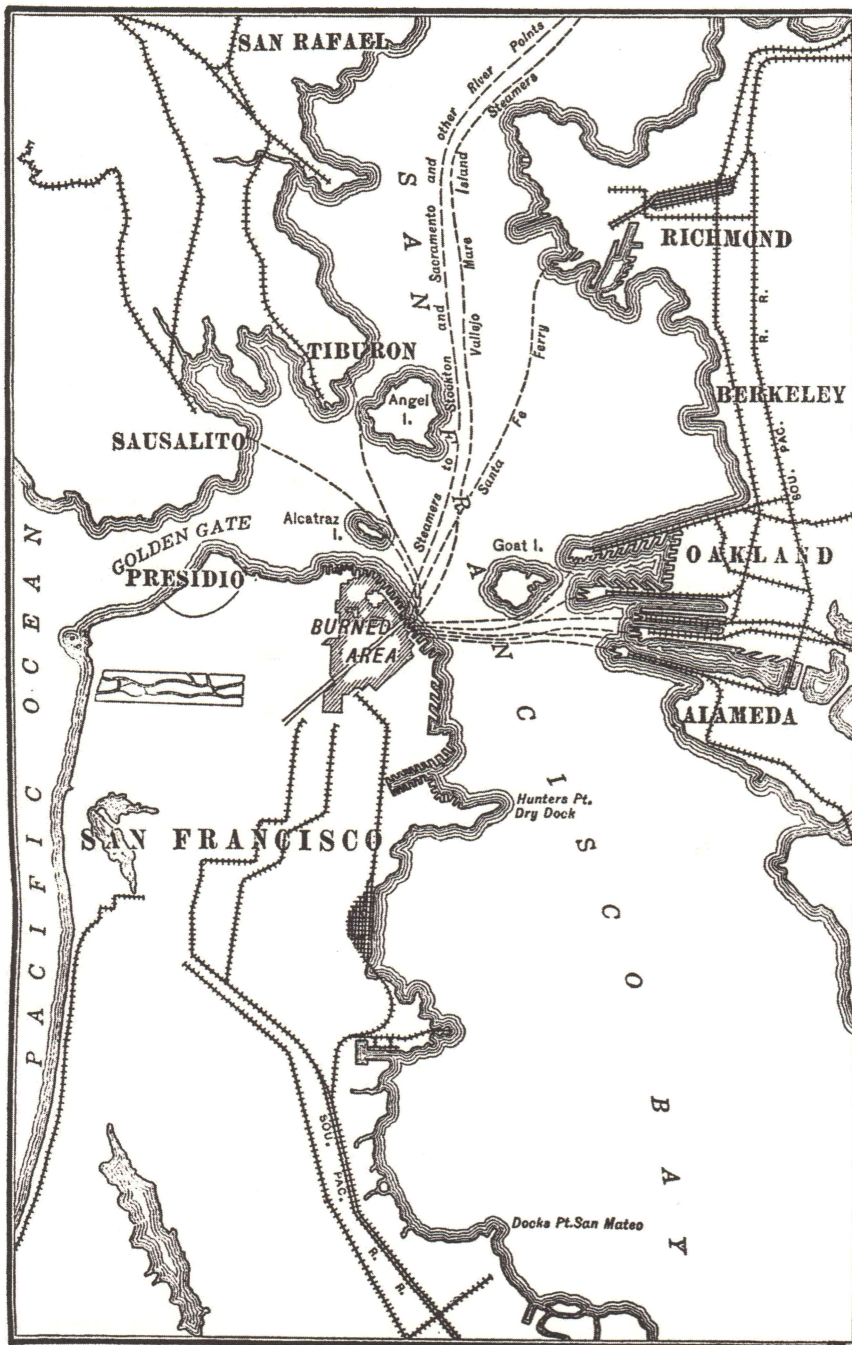
Just as San Francisco's elite reaffirmed their pre-disaster class identities by leaving the city, so too did the city's ethnic communities. Italians from North Beach pointed their fishing boats north and sailed to Marin County.²⁵ "[T]he morning of the earthquake they came over in droves!" recalled one Sausalito resident. "Every shelter that was available they filled." The Italian families that clustered along a cove called Seafirth returned to their daily routine with husbands and wives working early each morning, the former fishing and the latter baking loaves of bread from dough left rising in the night.²⁶ Not everyone from North Beach remained along the shores of Sausalito. The Tarantino family met one of their Marin County business contacts in the inland town of Fairfax. A fish and poultry purveyor to a hotel and restaurant west of San Rafael, Mr. Tarantino approached the hotel owner and asked permission for his family to camp in their yard. After securing his approval, Tarantino surprised the hotel proprietor by transporting eighty relatives by fishing boat and train from North Beach. "It was like a circus," the owner's daughter recalled. "[I]t was an army of children—mothers ready to bear children—fathers, grandfathers, very old, old, weeping people scared to death. . . . Well we had no room for accommodations. But they were smart, they brought tents."²⁷ For three months, the Tarantinos lived outdoors in the Marin countryside. Temporarily relocating his extended family outside the city enabled the Tarantinos to return to and rebuild in North Beach with their family networks and ethnic ties intact.

Working-class refugees without extended family ties also left the disaster zone, but they did not cross the bay. While thousands stayed in San Francisco's parks and vacant lots, hundreds walked to the undeveloped property on the outskirts of the city. At the city's southern border, the hills Italian truck farmers had furrowed into gardens or fenced to pasture dairy cows became the home of hundreds of refugees who had abandoned San

Francisco's liquefied ground. "I still remember the people—some with a cat, a dog, or a canary in a cage—walking out Mission Road," wrote Edmund Cavagnaro, "turning to look at the flames and smoke over their shoulders every now and then but not actually coming to a stop. It just seemed they couldn't get far enough away."²⁸ For working-class refugees camped on Daly's Hill, the dairy ranch of San Francisco's milk magnate John Daly was close enough to the Mission Road street cars to commute to work inside the city and far enough away from the disaster zone to feel safe. "It scared them enough to move," recalled the granddaughter of South of Market refugees who camped on Daly's Hill and remained to build in the area.²⁹ On this hill, refugee temporary encampments endured to form a new working-class enclave called Daly City.

Another way to understand the social world of disaster refugees is through the examination of disaster artifacts, the objects saved from or spared by the catastrophe. As residents evacuated their homes, they instinctively reached for belongings that held the greatest personal meaning. For those with the finances and good fortune to find a wagon or car to transport their belongings, almost an entire household could be salvaged. But for many refugees, the only objects saved were those that they could carry away in their own hands. Regardless of quantity or monetary value, disaster artifacts connected survivors to the physical space of the disaster. For those hit hardest by the disaster, rescued bits and pieces of property both reasserted their identities and rewove their family bonds as they rebuilt their homes after the disaster.

For many working-class women, the loss of home meant loss of work.³⁰ As a result, they often saved their tools instead of other personal possessions. A middle-aged woman observed pushing her sewing machine along the city's uneven terrain is one such example. "Oh no, she wouldn't let the machine out of her sight. It was her livelihood," recalled one witness who suggested that she discard the sewing machine. "She went on up [the hill] and you couldn't stop her."³¹ For two sisters living in the South of Market district, their mother's sewing machine was the only possession their family saved from the catastrophe: "There was no time to try to save anything, but my mother begged my father to try to get her sewing machine which she prized. She was a wonderful sewer and made all of our clothes."³² Before this mother reached for an object of historical value to the family—a favorite photograph, doll, or wedding gift—she preserved her vital connection to the family economy. The sewing machine not only produced



Bay Area Transportation Networks, 1906.
 From San Francisco Relief Survey, 1913. Courtesy of Department of
 Special Collections, Stanford University Libraries.

new clothes and mended the old, it symbolized the family's disaster experiences. As the only remnant of their pre-disaster lives, the machine not only preserved their mother's role in the family but became a constant reminder of the calamity as well.

The disaster also tested the priorities of the wealthy. The wife of a San Francisco millionaire, afraid that the encroaching fires would engulf her mansion, ordered her maid to cut the tapestries from the frames of her chairs.³³ The pieces of cloth simultaneously revealed and continued to construct their owner's social identity during a time of crisis. Facing the threat of losing her home, the rare tapestries preserved a measurement of social standing for this elite San Francisco woman.

A beer glass saved from a flat in the South of Market district tells the story of working-class refugee relocation to Daly's Hill.³⁴ Measuring nearly eight inches in height, the quarter-inch-thick glass bowl holds a pint of liquid. This glass is neither distinctive nor well made. There are no emblems to announce an affiliation with a particular brewery, a common practice during this period, nor does its stem or bowl show the craft of artisan skill. Its real value was in the weight of its thick glass and stem, which prevented it from breaking and chipping as it made its rounds inside one of the hundreds of saloons found in San Francisco. At five cents a glass, saloon keepers relied on a sturdy vessel to generate profits from multiple refills.

The masculine social world of the saloon exemplified turn-of-the-century workingmen's public culture, making the indestructible beer glass an important relic. According to historian Kathy Peiss, the saloon created an "interlocking network of leisure activities [that] strengthened an ethos of masculinity among workingmen."³⁵ The saloon was a place to gather after, and sometimes before, work in order to organize neighborhood associations or simply strengthen neighborhood bonds. The exclusion of women from this male social world is further exemplified by the glass itself. The size, shape, and weight of the glass made it heavier and more cumbersome than glassware typically found in the working-class household.

While this beer glass belonged in a saloon, on April 18, 1906, it was inside the flat of a newly married couple. For reasons unknown to his new wife, Joseph Moore had walked out of the saloon with the glass and brought it home to stay. Was it an intentional souvenir or an oversight? Was it a favorite glass carried to the saloon and stored at home? Or was it a marital compromise, a way to drink within the private sphere?³⁶ Whatever the rea-

son, the beer glass brought a piece of the masculine world of the saloon life into their working-class home. That the newly married Irish working-class man chose to save his beer glass over his wedding photograph certainly reveals the strong ethnic attachments to the masculine social world of the saloon. But the object's location tells more than one story. Once inside the home, the glass became more than an artifact of a male social world. After the disaster, the Moores placed the beer glass on display, preserving a physical connection to their pre-disaster social world as they helped build a new working-class neighborhood outside the city.

As refugees left San Francisco, pouring onto ferries and fishing boats, riding trains and driving horse-drawn carts, or simply bundling their possessions in a bed sheet and walking, they defined the city's post-disaster landscape. In the well-to-do suburbs of Marin and San Mateo Counties, the middling classes who made their home in the East Bay, and the working-class community that formed on Daly's Hill, refugee relocation planted the seeds for various Bay Area communities. City librarian Samuel Chandler's subsequent observations of Daly City applied to the Bay Area as well: "the truly great effect of the earthquake lay in the movement of people rather than in physical damage."³⁷

THE HUMAN GEOGRAPHY OF DISASTER RELIEF

The 1906 catastrophe was marked by more than the spontaneous movement of refugees. Even as family and community networks absorbed refugees, disaster relief officials asserted control over others. The recently re-incorporated American National Red Cross, dispatched by President Theodore Roosevelt to distribute a \$2.5 million Congressional emergency appropriation, spearheaded federal intervention.³⁸ Under the banner of the San Francisco Relief and Red Cross Funds, local business and charity leaders joined Red Cross experts to create and execute relief policy. These progressive policymakers pushed new "scientific" social work methods into the cracks and crevasses of post-disaster San Francisco. Their underlying goal was quite simple: improve social order by funding the return of San Francisco's families to their pre-disaster social status. Financed by millions and facilitated by experts, 1906 disaster relief favored the upper- and middle-classes and created a template for modern disaster relief policy.

While social work experts developed relief policy, military personnel initiated a crude form of disaster relief while the urban fires continued to burn. On the sandy beachfront of Black Point, a portion of the city's north-

ern shoreline close to Chinatown and Russian Hill, refugees hastily set up camp.³⁹ As they laid down blankets and gathered their few possessions, armed military personnel paced through the grounds and shouted orders directing all refugees to leave the waterfront. One refugee, whose extended family lived on Russian Hill, worried that they would be forced to abandon watch of their nearby homes. But a conversation with a soldier eased her fears and confirmed the military's *de facto* racism. Military intimidation, it seemed, was deployed solely to disrupt Chinese encampments: "[the soldier] added that these demonstrations were really intended to frighten the Chinese and Japanese into moving. . . . It is true that after each session of such vociferation a few more orientals [*sic*] abandoned their stopping places and crept away."⁴⁰ Military conduct at Black Point marked the beginning of Chinatown refugees' battle for relief and space in San Francisco, as *de facto* racism would formalize into the segregated policies of official disaster relief. The Anglo refugee and her family, on the other hand, were permitted to camp near their home on Russian Hill. In their case, race and property ownership facilitated their sojourns near their pre-disaster homes.

Public health inspectors joined military personnel in policing refugees who camped inside the city. Within one week of the earthquake, the City Board of Health appointed 500 volunteer physicians as sanitary inspectors.⁴¹ Since the nineteenth century, public health had provided an effective means to regulate urban social order, and this new crew of elite sanitary inspectors joined the military as the shock troops of official relief.⁴² As one relief administrator later summarized, they lent "sanitary and moral protection to a large body of persons living under abnormal conditions."⁴³ In the first few weeks after the disaster, relief officials marked *ad hoc* refugee encampments for closure. "Moral protection," a loosely defined goal left to the individual interpretation of sanitary inspectors, must have been the justification for one sanitation inspector's suggestion to relocate "a camp composed of 45 people, mostly colored" to Fort Mason, even though he reported no unsanitary conditions at the camp.⁴⁴ In keeping with contemporary racialized views about southern Europeans and Mexicans, city inspectors initially assumed that sanitary conditions on Telegraph Hill would "not be entirely satisfactory until the Mexicans and Italians on top of the Hill [were] removed from their present quarters."⁴⁵ These refugees were spared eviction thanks to a Spanish-speaking military guard who acted as an intermediary, translating sanitation requirements and, perhaps more importantly, refugee intent.⁴⁶ A Spanish-speaking guard revealed the precarious

social position of some refugees where they were sustained by family and community networks but unprotected by their pre-disaster built environment. As informal groups of refugees struggled to sustain themselves, relief officials set the conditions that predicted their success.

Chinese refugees undoubtedly had the most difficult post-disaster experiences. After the earthquake and fires destroyed Chinatown, civic officials and residents publicly worried about the uncontained Chinese "race." Within days of the earthquake, Oakland papers cautioned: "Oakland's Chinatown will spread and tend to be the same menace to this city as Chinatown was to San Francisco unless measures are promptly taken to check it from doing so."⁴⁷ During the disaster Chinatown refugees did not turn to San Francisco officials for assistance but rather clustered in informal groups of family, friends, and neighbors.

These small groupings of family and friends were essential to their survival because Chinese refugees could not assume that official relief representatives would care for them. Lee Dock found this out. A city sanitary inspector found Lee Dock "in a tent near the west fence of the Fort Mason," suffering from dysentery and "in a very bad condition." The inspector wrote that the "case should be referred to the proper authorities and should be removed to a hospital."⁴⁸ But racialized social norms left Lee Dock suffering from the city's unwillingness to care for Chinese refugees outside of Chinatown. "There seems to be considerable doubt as to who should act in the case of the Chinaman, Lee Dock, mentioned in yesterday's report," the inspector wrote. "[I]n the meantime he is in sad need of attention."⁴⁹ The hopes of survival for Chinatown refugees rested on their ability to maintain family and neighborhood ties. After the death of her father, Alice Sue Fun's family living conditions went from "hard" to nearly impossible. After arriving safely in Oakland, Fun's father died from typhoid fever at a Chinese refugee camp. Fun recalled the devastating impact on her mother, who gave birth to her sixth child four days after her husband's death: "There was nothing my mother could do. She had six children. At that time, you know, no welfare, nothing." Her mother's only alternative, according to Fun, was a hasty remarriage.⁵⁰

Born of necessity, relief camps first sprang up to house all refugees. By the summer of 1906, however, the camps provided the foundation for new disaster relief policy. The construction of San Francisco's official Chinese relief camp, for example, reconstituted pre-disaster racialized boundaries in



While many refugees cooked at makeshift stoves on the sidewalk of their damaged homes, the Chinese were singled out by relief authorities for discriminatory treatment. *Courtesy of the Museum of the City of San Francisco.*

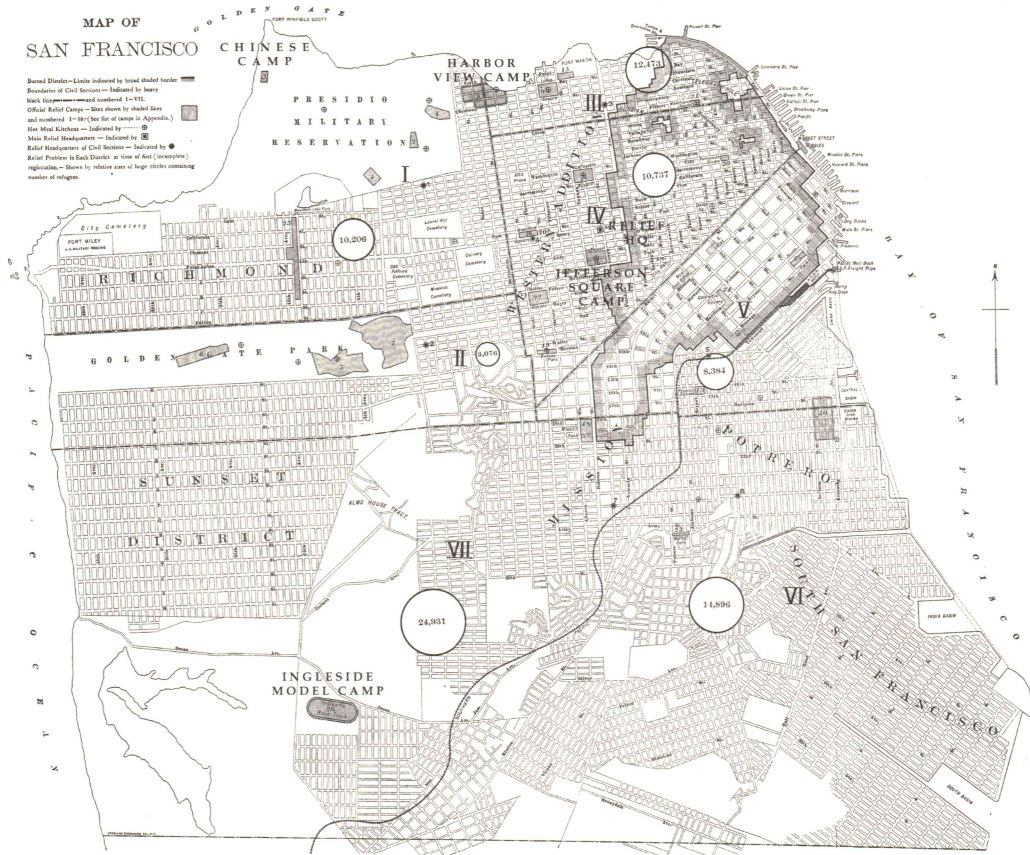
an attempt to excise Chinatown from post-disaster San Francisco.⁵¹ Immediately following the catastrophe, civic leaders eyed the physical space of Chinatown rather than evaluating the needs of its refugees. The remaining twenty-five official camps in San Francisco housed refugees without extended family networks or financial resources; these camps accommodated approximately 40,000 refugees in June 1906.⁵² The number of men, women, and children were nearly equally divided among the refugees, tallying 39 percent, 31 percent, and 30 percent of the population, respectively.⁵³ A distinguishing feature of the camp population was the overrepresentation of Irish and Italian refugees. Compared to San Francisco's pre-disaster demographics, there were over three times as many Irish and almost four times as many Italians residing in the camps.⁵⁴ Native-born refugees, on the other hand, accounted for 40 percent of the camp residents, a figure falling short of their 64.5-percent majority in turn-of-the-



An extended family in refugee camp in Golden Gate Park.
(Roy D. Graves Collection). *Courtesy The Bancroft Library,
University of California, Berkeley.*

century San Francisco. Relief camp demographic data pointed to the dual goals of relief policy. The camps were both a departure point for native born middle- and working-class refugees' return to independent life and a space to contain ethnic, poor and working-class refugees during San Francisco's initial rebuilding period.⁵⁵

Relief leaders used two criteria to select the twenty-six military camps that would become official relief camps: pre-disaster urban spatial arrangements and post-disaster rebuilding plans. The spatial location of the camps, which were placed in city parks or undamaged public squares, pulled refugees off of both public and private property in the disaster zone.⁵⁶ With San Francisco property titles reduced to a pile of ashes under City Hall's skeletal dome, disaster zone evacuation prevented potential squatters from interfering with civic rebuilding. Further, relief officials assumed new regulatory authority over both refugees in the camps and nearby residents by taking



Disaster Relief Camps, 1906. From *San Francisco Relief Survey, 1913*.
 Courtesy of Department of Special Collections, Stanford University Libraries.

control of public square encampments. After April 18th, these spaces took on new meaning; refugees residing in public squares temporarily forfeited their privacy as domestic life became the property of the city.

The relief camps were designed to create a proper moral environment and restore male-headed households. Employing what historian Paul Boyer describes as “the idea of moral reform through environmental betterment,” the relief camps created a moral environment by defining spatial arrangements.⁵⁷ Camp commanders were instructed to “segregate all moral degenerates” in their camps and use “moral persuasion” to instruct their refugees. “[I]t will not be permitted to have the sense of decency of refugees in your camp shocked by disgraceful or scandalous action on the part of others,”

read an official memo to camp commanders.⁵⁸ Camp commanders carefully added each father's pre-disaster address and prior occupation to his admission card to simplify identification by class status. The permanence of a father's patriarchal role was re-affirmed by the admissions policy, which required men to identify family members as well as estimate the date by which they would once again provide for them.⁵⁹ Two-parent families were lauded through words and dollars as they would be placed first in line to receive rebuilding funds from the relief donations.

The findings of an investigative reporter revealed how camp conditions posed a serious challenge to many refugees. Mrs. Constance Lawrence Dean, "one of San Francisco's keenest and most capable newspaper women," spent a mid-July week living in a refugee camp. Accepting the undercover assignment, Dean traded in her shopping dress for old clothes and a worn hat to assume the identity of "Margaret Jennings, Refugee." The *San Francisco Call's* front-page exposé ran one photograph of the well-coiffed, wide-eyed Dean alongside another photograph of Dean's alias, "Margaret Jennings," who glared warily at the camera from beneath her limp hat. "I had dressed miserably, with a show of untidy poverty," admitted Dean, "for it was a part of my design to appear utterly, commonplacely [sic] uninteresting." Plied with questions and confused by multiple relief forms, Dean found that her "General Supply Card" and "Special Order Card" earned her several days of standing in a relief line, a tent without bedding, and a lantern without oil or wick. Her "Food Card," on the other hand, was accepted at the camp kitchen but the "distressing odors and the half musty food dispelled the desire to eat."⁶⁰

Dean's experience of camp life was not far off the mark. Indeed, camp dining facilities were unappetizing and unsanitary places to consume a meal. July camp inspections documented refugees waiting in line for up to one and a half hours for a dining table seat where they were sure to encounter poor food and dirty utensils and dishes.⁶¹ The flies, which sanitary inspectors found "in every portion of and upon everything in these kitchens," were linked by agar plate testing to 151 cases of typhoid fever.⁶² Kitchen employees were as dangerous as the flies, forcing relief administrators to issue a bulletin requiring them to clean their hands and dishes, remove flypaper from the tables prior to the arrival of refugees, and stop poking their fingers into cooked food.⁶³ Dean's remedy for substandard camp conditions certainly pleased her employer, the recently appointed Chair of the Camp, Food and Warehouse Department, Rudolph Spreckels.

"Forcible, honest executive officials, and plenty of them," insisted Dean, would bring the "speedy arrangement of a [better] system."⁶⁴

The records left by a young camp commander provide a rare view of how refugees adapted to life inside the relief camps. The camp commander of Harbor View, Dr. René Bine, was the new field agent of the relief corporation's "forcible, honest executive officials." An unmarried French American physician, Bine was a young, idealistic camp commander devoted to helping "deserving" refugees by operating an efficient camp. Bine maintained personal contact with camp tenants despite the camp's unwieldy size. He acted as both their advocate and judge. As the first civilian to serve in a military relief camp immediately following the disaster, Bine was already practiced at interceding in refugee domestic life. A local newspaper reporter described his role:

[Bine is] the social and domestic arbiter of the 1150 souls whose health is in his keeping. If housewives quarrel—which housewives sometimes do, even when under military control—he is called upon to decide the right and wrong of the dispute, and if children disobey their parents, he it is to whom appeal is made by the latter.⁶⁵

Bringing this experience to the official relief camps, the confident commander believed that refugees would best be served by following his judgment. "The sooner you realize that I am here to be of assistance to all," read his memo posted for camp refugees, "the sooner will you help me in keeping the camp as I want to have it."⁶⁶

Bine's opinions were indispensable to refugee women who, like "Margaret Jennings," had difficulty navigating the system of relief on their own. Similar to the social worker who made a home visit, Bine interviewed refugees in their tents before submitting brief reports to relief headquarters. The camp commander's support was often a refugee's only guarantee of a favorable response. Miss Sheehan, for example, was relieved by Bine's assessment that her "case soon be taken up, if on no other grounds than priority application." Although "a real good-hearted woman," the single, Irish refugee came across as "very hard to handle, as she always [felt] that somebody meant other than [what] was really said."⁶⁷ The rough edges of Sheehan's non-compliance with gendered expectations of docility were smoothed away under the paternal commander's pen. Even hardworking mothers needed assistance gaining visibility in the seemingly endless piles of paperwork protocol. "Application for rehabilitation filed weeks ago and



Laundry in a refugee camp.
Courtesy of the Museum of the City of San Francisco.

nothing done,” read another Bine report that painted a sympathetic portrait of refugee Mrs. Allie Bailey. With a son suffering from tuberculosis and a “daughter-in-law with baby on her hands,” Bailey continued to work “on and off at whatever her appearance allowed her to apply for.” But more important than the brief description of her circumstances was Bine’s assessment of her character. Included in his summary were the two nineteenth-century words that continued to resonate in modern social work: “is deserving.”⁶⁸

Official relief policy was critical to the social and spatial recovery of San Francisco. Inside the camps, for example, relief policy orchestrated the screening of refugees for rebuilding assistance. At their most basic level, the camps redrew social boundaries by delineating space outside the disaster zone to contain poor and working-class refugees. Nonetheless, some refugees circumvented relief restrictions. Racist relief policy that excluded Chinese refugees forced them to rely on diplomatic and business leaders to successfully pressure relief and civic leaders for Chinatown’s place in San Francisco.

RELOCATION AND RELIEF: BUILDING THE BAY AREA

Refugee relocation and disaster relief accelerated Bay Area development. Bay Area city and town leaders enticed displaced middle-class and elite San Franciscans to become local homeowners and contained refugees who were without resources inside relief camps. As geographer Linda McDowell points out, geographical boundaries are at once social and spatial: "they define who belongs to a place and who may be excluded, as well as the location or site of experience."⁶⁹ The relief efforts in a variety of Bay Area locations revealed these social and spatial elements. In each of these places, civic and business leaders employed disaster relief to spur economic growth.

Bay Area cities and towns were not only connected to the city by transportation networks, they were also unified by social fears of urban excess: San Francisco's refugees. Class-, race-, and ethnic-based rumors about dangerous urban refugees traveled as far south as Los Angeles, where relief committee leaders believed "that a horde of undesirable characters would descend upon" their city.⁷⁰ Local civic leaders increased law enforcement, created relief committees, and established relief camps to contain refugees without means. To the north in San Rafael, for example, the sheriff ensured "good order" by deputizing 6 percent of the population and handing out firearms to 250 men.⁷¹ Across the bay in Oakland, military personnel policed urban relief camps that segregated refugees. Even the relief committee in the southern town of Palo Alto, whose members were anxious to help any refugees arriving at the local depot, cautioned that "citizens must not take strangers home."⁷² Throughout the Bay Area cities and towns, civic leaders protected law-abiding citizens and encouraged suburban growth.

Citizens of San Rafael were less concerned about the arrival of refugees representing the summer city crowd than about the onslaught of poor refugees. The largest city in Marin County, San Rafael was founded as an auxiliary mission (*asistencia*) in 1817. Because of its distance from the city's fog and wind, mission fathers used Marin's agreeable climate to heal the ailing neophytes they confined to the Mission Dolores compound in San Francisco. Nearly a century later, however, incorporated San Rafael steeled itself against San Francisco's needy. Fear of the city's lower classes spread after the local paper published reports that "drunken, hungry and famine stricken crowds from San Francisco" were "defying officers" in the southern Marin town of Sausalito.⁷³ Civic leaders of San Rafael increased their police force to guard against the expected influx of refugees. Town leaders

swore in men as deputies, collected guns, and organized a relief committee to ensure that refugees registered at their relief camp.

Class fears in Sausalito were intensified by the town's proximity to the bay: "The citizens of Sausalito organized and kept watch in fear of the crowds escaping from San Francisco."⁷⁴ Four thousand refugees found their way to Sausalito, the destination of the San Francisco ferry as well as port to North Beach fishermen, and quickly outnumbered the town's residents. Sausalito leaders shut down their saloons and deputized 113 male citizens to protect town property and citizens.⁷⁵ The *San Francisco Chronicle* reassured its readers that most of Sausalito's refugees, Italians from North Beach, were "quiet and tractable" once they were relieved "of the strong red wine."⁷⁶ While the townspeople anxiously eyed their refugee neighbors, they enthusiastically welcomed new homeowners. "We have been discovered!" proclaimed one *Sausalito News* editorial. "Lots and home sales in those parts of Marin lightly hit by the quake suddenly skyrocketed. To the delight of civic leaders and real estate speculators, many of those who fled San Francisco decided to make Marin their new home."⁷⁷

The established ferry transportation service to the port of Oakland, coupled with the city's major rail terminus, made it the initial destination of hundreds of thousands of refugees without extended family ties in the Bay Area. San Francisco relief leaders allocated funds and military personnel to their East Bay rival in order to monitor refugees.⁷⁸ Oakland relief adopted San Francisco relief policy standards, building relief camps under U.S. military supervision. Like those built in San Francisco, the relief camps were constructed to monitor refugee behavior and protect the city's citizens. According to the state health officer, the Oakland camp "would be of great advantage, first, because the objectionable individuals in the camps could be more easily watched by the police; next, because they could be conducted at less expense and finally, for the most important of all reasons, the health of the inmates could be more carefully guarded, as could also the health of the residents of Oakland."⁷⁹ The official relief camps clarified the boundaries of Oakland's healthy civic body by confining the social problems embodied by poor and Chinese refugees to their relief camps.

Oakland experienced phenomenal population growth after the catastrophe, increasing 123 percent from the 1900 census. Middle-class and professional housing was added to Oakland's eastern foothills. "The advantages of the lower foothills of Oakland as sites for homes," wrote a booster



Refugee Camp 9. Lobos Square.

Courtesy The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

in 1911, “became fully appreciated when the people from the other side of the Bay came to Oakland in April, 1906.” On the hills of Oakland, residents “found themselves as far removed from the dirt and turmoil of the work-a-day world as though they had traveled fifty miles into the mountains.”⁸⁰ Post-disaster refugee relocation clearly spurred Oakland’s development.

In contrast to the relief programs in other Bay Area cities and towns, Berkeley experimented with an ambitious and unique program to board refugees in the homes of its residents. Shrugging off San Francisco military supervision, the Berkeley Relief Committee (BRC) enticed refugees with domestic comforts: “All who come here are quickly cared for, given food and shelter and made to feel once more the peace of a home.”⁸¹ While Berkeley’s organized relief effort included the basic elements of civic relief—the mayor endorsed increased law enforcement, supervised relief camps, and relief claim investigation—Berkeley was the only city to place

the majority of its refugees inside residential housing.⁸² With over 6,000 refugees inside Berkeley homes, city officials hoped to increase its chances that refugees would be attracted by the city's hospitality.⁸³ Gender and family served as the lynchpins of BRC policy, which relied on the domestic sphere to execute relief and development plans.

The BRC plan politicized the private world of Berkeley by working out civic goals in the domestic sphere. Volunteers, who were predominantly middle-class home-owning families, opened their doors to San Francisco refugees with no compensation for their effort.⁸⁴ Most of the 1,300 volunteers believed that they should "do all possible" to "see that they [refugees] do not suffer."⁸⁵ In nearly half of the recorded cases, married women were given charge of relief inside their households as they specified the desired gender, age, and marital status of prospective refugees.⁸⁶ Most assumed that the BRC would send "respectable people," and on only a few occasions were volunteers compelled to remind the relief committee that if the people whom they sent were "nice and very quiet," they would "be able to keep them longer than a few days."⁸⁷ Although volunteers safely assumed that Chinese refugees were restricted, the increased presence of Chinatown refugees in Berkeley prompted one volunteer to insist on "no Chinamen."⁸⁸ While some asked the relief committee to "send those especially in need," the disaster did not eliminate class- and race-based considerations.⁸⁹ One volunteer used relief as an opportunity to acquire domestic help and asked for "a good girl for general housework."⁹⁰ Overall, the BRC initial attempt to place refugees was surprisingly successful with nearly two-thirds of the volunteer homeowners receiving refugees who matched their criteria.⁹¹ Just one week after the disaster, the BRC conducted a door-to-door survey in an attempt to extend the life of their home relief project and acquire additional relief funds from San Francisco.⁹²

Refugee relocation accelerated Berkeley's burgeoning development. Prior to the catastrophe, real estate companies were already carving up the town's pastures into housing lots. Developers relied on the new Key Route, a rapid electric transit system that opened in 1903 and reduced the commute time to San Francisco to a mere 36 minutes, to attract homeowners. The Key Route was the brainchild of East Bay entrepreneur and real estate promoter Francis Marion Smith. According to historian Mel Scott, electric-railway promoters like Smith "had begun to think of the entire San Francisco Bay as a territory that could be linked together by fast transportation. They more than vaguely foresaw the possibility of a metropoli-

tan region with many interdependent communities.”⁹³ The success of real estate speculators was virtually guaranteed by massive refugee relocation. The Magee Tract, for example, was partitioned by one real estate company near the area housing BRC refugees. “Cheap Homes . . . For the people,” read the ad. “Buy while you can get a handsome building site.”⁹⁴ By December 1906, *Berkeley Reporter*’s Robert Duponey wrote, “Berkeley is increasing everyday! . . . Everywhere you smell timber, every street is obstructed with barrels of plaster, the hammers fill the air with noise.”⁹⁵ Indeed, the success of post-disaster development was easily measured by Berkeley’s record-setting post-disaster growth rate of 200 percent, swelling from 13,200 in 1900 to 40,400 by 1910.⁹⁶

Introduced to the intimacy of Berkeley’s domestic sphere, refugees gained a brief glimpse of residential life outside San Francisco. The increased importance of the Bay Area to San Francisco was exemplified by the campaign to make Berkeley the state’s capital. Inspired by their phenomenal success, Berkeley real estate speculators gambled on moving California’s capital further west. During the post-disaster boom, the president of the Berkeley Development Company initiated the campaign to relocate the capital from Sacramento to Berkeley. Berkeley, reasoned real estate magnate Louis Titus, was nearer to the center of California’s population and business. Not only was Berkeley a 10-cent fare away from half of the state’s population, its foothills offered a commanding view of the Bay Area. One ardent supporter remarked, “Such a view will surely make a legislator do anything right, even his duty.”⁹⁷ The Bay Area effectively replaced Sacramento as the center of government because of its connections to California’s population and landscape.

Bay Area Chinese communities expanded after the catastrophe as well. San Francisco offered limited post-disaster resources for Chinatown refugees, and, consequently, the majority of refugees left the city for shelter and work. A Chinese Christian minister offered a benevolent view of the dispersal of Chinatown residents in his prediction that refugees would leave the city for the surrounding countryside. “Perhaps the Lord wanted a scattering,” mused Reverend Jee Gam, who had also lost his home to the fires. “[A] scattering is a good thing sometimes.”⁹⁸ Chinatown’s scattering was not random, but rather refugees followed the paths of family, employment, and community connections. The Wong family, for example, pooled their resources while staying at a relief camp in San Francisco’s Presidio to pay boat fare to Vallejo. That town’s small Chinese community was selected as

the destination because of the family's "previous acquaintances there."⁹⁹ Bay Area Chinese fishing and shrimp camps also attracted refugees, who traveled north to the Marin County camps or east to the shrimp camps in Richmond. The shrimp camps promised the security of a pre-established Chinese community for many refugees. Leland Chin recalled the East Bay community of Richmond as a well-known Chinese enclave where many friends and neighbors went for shelter: "Now Richmond in those days was nothin' but shrimp camps. There was a lot of shrimp in the bay, and at least thirty shrimp camps in Richmond. Sure, all Chinese! Everything was Chinese in those days."¹⁰⁰ The arrival of even a few dozen refugees significantly altered these locations. In Marin, for example, refugee relocation boosted the small Chinese community by 13 percent, a dramatic reversal of the 73 percent decline after the 1882 Exclusion Act.¹⁰¹ Chinatown refugee relocation patterns followed an unspoken rule of survival: travel in groups to Bay Area Chinese enclaves. As they did so they increased the presence of Chinese outside the city.

Bay Area Chinese-owned businesses became a vital community resource for Chinatown refugees. The Berkeley Relief Committee, for example, registered 115 refugees who boarded with Chinese residents or businesses in their East Bay town.¹⁰² Relief investigators found refugee groups ranging in size from 15 to 30 clustered in the Chinese-owned businesses and homes along Berkeley's Dwight Way. The 15 refugees who slept at the Lee Yaik Company and the 30 refugees who stayed at Hong Wo's home next door on Dwight Way typified the group size and location of at least 350 Chinatown refugees in the area.¹⁰³ Chinatown's displaced who found refuge in Berkeley boosted the Chinese population by 66 percent.¹⁰⁴ Relocation to the few Berkeley homes and businesses created a dense population of Chinese, reestablishing some of the social networks familiar to them in pre-disaster Chinatown. Berkeley, however, was both a destination and a departure point. Hundreds of Chinatown refugees regularly moved in and out of the small city. As one Berkeley historian noted at the time: "Many Chinese left daily for places in the interior looking for work, and every day more came in and settled."¹⁰⁵

The experience of Chinese refugees exemplified how disaster survivor relocation and relief policy combined to transform the Bay Area. Relief policy aided the permanent relocation of selected refugees in most Bay Area cities and towns. In the case of Chinese refugees, the heightened post-dis-

aster racism encapsulated by disaster relief policies increased their reliance on Chinatown's social networks. The expansion of the Chinese community continued with increased post-disaster immigration. With the destruction of San Francisco's City Hall and its entire collection of birth certificates, thousands of Chinese would assert their rights as "native born." As the national and international Chinese community rallied to aid their people who were "in great distress," they sketched the borders of a Chinese community that extended beyond the boundaries of San Francisco's Chinatown.

CONCLUSION

The 1906 catastrophe was at once physical and social, affecting both the built environment as well as human responses to the disaster. Refugee relocation away from the center of the city marked a turning point for a burgeoning Bay Area identity. Class- and race-based social values spread quickly as suburban areas such as Marin County filled with both elite and refugee families. Within San Francisco, poorer refugees who walked out of the rubble in the South of Market area to camp on Daly's Hill planted the seeds for a new, working-class community across the city's southern border. And the spread of Chinatown refugees throughout the Bay Area prompted both the urban development and suburban expansion of California's Chinese community. While many refugees moved away from the city, San Francisco disaster relief policy carved out the social space for their return. Relief policies that funded housing and business reconstruction for refugee families, segregated Chinese refugees, and provided reconstruction work for working-class men, reestablished San Francisco's pre-disaster social hierarchies. Relief policy and refugee resources solidified the pre-disaster tendency toward socially stratified neighborhoods in San Francisco. By 1909, the spatial arrangement of the city's residential districts for Chinese, Italians, elite, middle-, and working-class San Franciscans made class, race, ethnicity, and gender easily identifiable. This division, in turn, strengthened pre-disaster racial and ethnic communities. For the Italians in North Beach and the Chinese in Chinatown, reconstruction provided new leverage against prevailing ethnic and racial biases. Ultimately, although popular conceptions of gender and race did not undergo radical transformation, the persistence of pre-disaster social conceptions during and after the catastrophe revealed their critical role in the evolving spatial, political, and social life of the city.

NOTES

- ¹ Dolly Brown Anderson to Henry Anderson, April 21, 1906, San Francisco Earthquake and Fire 1906, MS 3458, California Historical Society.
- ² The factual summary of the 1906 disaster is based on the following sources: Gladys Hansen, "Who Perished?," (San Francisco: The San Francisco Archives, 1980); Andrew C. Lawson, "Preliminary Report of the State Earthquake Investigation Commission," (Berkeley: 1906); *San Francisco Municipal Reports for the Fiscal Year 1905-1906 and 1906-1907* (San Francisco: Neal Publishing Company, 1908); Albert W. Whitney, "Report on Insurance Settlements," in *San Francisco Chamber of Commerce Annual Report* (San Francisco: H. S. Crocker, 1907).
- ³ Tina Pastori, Oral History Interview, 1978, Carla Ehat Oral History Program, Kent Room, Marin County Library.
- ⁴ Just over one-quarter of a million refugees were transported by the Southern Pacific to points in the Bay Area. Only 3 percent of the refugees transported by the Southern Pacific left the state. Calculated from Table 12, Charles J. O'Connor, "Organizing the Force and Emergency Methods," in *San Francisco Relief Survey*, ed. Russell Sage Foundation (New York: Survey Associates, Inc., 1913), p. 58.
- ⁵ Ardee Rochex, *A Historical Sketch of the San Mateo County Chapter American Red Cross through World War I* (Burlingame, CA: American National Red Cross, 1967), p. 3.
- ⁶ Mel Scott, *The San Francisco Bay Area: A Metropolis in Perspective* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1959), p. 94.
- ⁷ In 1900, 64.5 percent of San Francisco's residents were native born, followed by 30.4 percent born in Western Europe. American Chinese, the majority of whom lived in Chinatown, totaled 4.6 percent of the city's population, while African Americans numbered only .5 percent. "Race, Nativity, and Origin of the Population of San Francisco, 1870, 1900, and 1930," Table 5, William Issel and Robert W. Cherny, *San Francisco, 1865-1932: Politics, Power, and Urban Development* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1986), p. 56.
- ⁸ Bernadette A. McKittrick and Tessie Dowd, "Remembrances of the San Francisco Earthquake, April 18, 1906," dictated 1966, MS 3489, California Historical Society.
- ⁹ John J. Conlon in Patricia Turner, ed., 1906 *Remembered* (San Francisco: Friends of the San Francisco Public Library, 1981), pp. 35-36.
- ¹⁰ Bessie Shum, interview, quoted in *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 14, 2000.
- ¹¹ Leland Chin in Victor G. and Bret de Bary Nee, *Longtime Californ': A Documentary Study of an American Chinatown* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1972), pp. 76-77.
- ¹² Alice Sue Fun in Judy Yung, *Unbound Voices: A Documentary History of Chinese Women in San Francisco* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1999), p. 268.
- ¹³ Edith H. Rosenshine, "The San Francisco Earthquake of 1906," Online Archive of California, <<http://ark.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/kt7199n8k6>>.
- ¹⁴ Alvin Greenberg in Turner, 1906 *Remembered*, pp. 21-22.
- ¹⁵ Hazel Snell, *The Bum-Hill Gazette*, May 1906, Bancroft Library.
- ¹⁶ Catherine to Elise, April 22, 1906, San Francisco Earthquake and Fire 1906, Letters, MS 3512, California Historical Society.
- ¹⁷ General Orders No. 18, April 29, 1906, in O. E. Mack, "A Study in Disaster Preparedness," (San Francisco: n.p., n.d. [mimeographed]), p. 3.
- ¹⁸ Only the family's four pieces of hard tack remained uncontaminated. James W. Ward, Chief Sanitary Inspector, to the Health Commission, Letterman General Hospital Records, Entry 363, Box 1, Folder 12, National Archives, Burlingame, California.
- ¹⁹ William G. Hartley, "Saints and the San Francisco Earthquake," *BYU Studies* 23, no. 4 (1983): 441.
- ²⁰ *Ibid.*, 447.
- ²¹ David Greenberg to family, (n.d.), 1906 San Francisco Earthquake and Fire Collection, Personal Accounts, San Francisco Public Library.
- ²² William Murray in Turner, 1906 *Remembered*, p. 61.
- ²³ Katherine Hooker, "Fire and Earthquake Days," unpublished memoir, File 2631, pp. 51-52, San Francisco Virtual Museum Archives.
- ²⁴ Robert Cunningham Hall to Alice (sister), May 1906, reprinted in Beverly Bastian, "Belvedere—A True Refugee From 1906 Quake," 1906 San Francisco Earthquake and Fire File, Marin County Library.

- ²⁵ James V. Coulter, Oral History Interview, February 10, 1982, Carla Ehat Oral History Program, Kent Room, Marin County Library.
- ²⁶ Grace McCombie Wolfe in James and Shirley Mitchell Heig, eds., *Both Sides of the Track: A Collection of Oral Histories from Belvedere and Tiburon* (San Francisco: Scottwall Associates, 1985), p. 12.
- ²⁷ Pastori, p. 5.
- ²⁸ Edmund Cavagnaro quoted in Michael and Shirley Burgett Svanevik, "La Peninsula," *The Journal of the San Mateo County Historical Society* 19, no. 2 (1979): 8.
- ²⁹ Patricia Hatfield, interview with author, October 2003.
- ³⁰ The family economy, as historian Sara Deutsch defines it, "stands for a continual shifting of roles between men, women, and children or earner, caretaker, and housekeeper and a continual jockeying for resources, whether it be who would control the wages family members earned or who would seek what kind of assistance from public and semipublic institutions and agencies. It also meant a floating population of lodgers and boarders, often kin, and of children who might die from malnutrition, unsanitary conditions, epidemics, or poor treatment." Sarah Deutsch, *Women and the City: Gender, Space, and Power in Boston, 1870-1940* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 31.
- ³¹ Marion Baldwin Hale, "The 1906 Earthquake and Fire, San Francisco," (taped recollections, 1975), San Francisco Earthquake and Fire Collection, Personal Accounts, San Francisco Public Library, p. 6.
- ³² Bernadette A. McKittrick and Tessie Dowd, "Remembrances of the San Francisco Earthquake April 18, 1906," (dictated 1966), San Francisco Earthquake and Fire 1906, MS 3489, California Historical Society.
- ³³ Frank to Harriet, n.d., San Francisco Earthquake and Fire 1906, MS 3512, California Historical Society.
- ³⁴ Joseph and Lenore Moore lived in the working-class district South of Market. After saving the beer glass, they passed it on to their daughter. Today, the Moores' granddaughter, Patricia Hatfield, preserves the glass and its family stories. Following E. McClung Fleming's model for artifact interpretation, this analysis includes four elements: identification, evaluation, cultural analysis, and interpretation. Fleming argues that the physical properties of the artifact must first be first inventoried, which includes attention to provenance, construction, design, style, and function. E. McClung Fleming, "Artifact Study: A Proposed Model," *Winterthur Portfolio* 9 (1974): 153-73; quoted in Mary Johnson, "Women and Their Material Universe: A Bibliographic Essay," *Journal of American Culture* 6 (March 1983): 35.
- ³⁵ Kathy Peiss, *Cheap Amusements: Working Women and Leisure in Turn-of-the-Century New York* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986), p. 20.
- ³⁶ According to Peiss, "Working-class wives clearly differentiated between a public and private sphere for drinking, favoring men who imbibed at home and censuring the husband who drank in saloons, away from his family." *Ibid.*, p. 27.
- ³⁷ Samuel C. Chandler, "Gateway to the Peninsula": A History of the City of Daly City (Daly City, CA: 1973), p. 27.
- ³⁸ While national intervention after the San Francisco disaster was precedent setting, it would take decades for a federal disaster relief policy to emerge. A general policy or program for disaster response eluded the U.S. until 1950. The Federal Disaster Act, or P.L. 875, was approved by the 81st Congress on September 30, 1950 (64 Stat. 1109). In order to "alleviate suffering and damage resulting from major disaster," the Federal Disaster Act grants federal assistance to state and local governments upon a presidential approval of a governor's request. This act formalized an elastic definition of disaster, leaving state political leaders to define the parameters of disaster. According to economic scholar Christopher Douty, "the law is written so that almost any unfortunate natural occurrence can be called a disaster." Christopher Morris Douty, "The Economics of Localized Disasters: An Empirical Analysis of the 1906 Earthquake and Fire in San Francisco," (PhD diss., Stanford University, 1969), p. 38.
- ³⁹ Hooker, pp. 51-52.
- ⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 54-55.
- ⁴¹ *San Francisco Call*, April 22, 1906, quoted in Marie Louise Bine Rodriguez, *The Earthquake of 1906* (San Francisco: Privately Printed, 1951), pp. 8-9.
- ⁴² Nayan Shah, *Contagious Divides: Epidemics and Race in San Francisco's Chinatown* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2001), p. 3. On the social construction of public health, see Sheila M. Rothman, *Living in the Shadow of Death: Tuberculosis and the Social Experience of Illness in American History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994).
- ⁴³ O'Connor, "Organizing the Force and Emergency Methods," p. 79.

- ⁴⁴ San Francisco Sanitation Reports, pp. 16–21, San Francisco 1906 Earthquake Documents, Paperless Archives.
- ⁴⁵ San Francisco Sanitation Reports, May 16, 1906, p. 26, San Francisco 1906 Earthquake Documents, Paperless Archives. See Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998).
- ⁴⁶ San Francisco Sanitation Reports, May 19, 1906, p. 36, San Francisco 1906 Earthquake Documents, Paperless Archives.
- ⁴⁷ "Chinese Evils Threaten City," *San Francisco Bulletin*, April 21, 1906.
- ⁴⁸ Sanitation Report, May 14, 1906, p. 24, San Francisco 1906 Earthquake Documents, Paperless Archives.
- ⁴⁹ Sanitation Report, May 15, 1906, p. 24, San Francisco 1906 Earthquake Documents, Paperless Archives.
- ⁵⁰ Fun in Yung, *Unbound Voices*, p. 268.
- ⁵¹ Nayan Shah's anti-social control definition of Chinatown, which argues that San Francisco Chinese identity was forged exclusively by civic leaders and institutions, more accurately describes the temporary space of the segregated relief camp than pre- or post-disaster Chinatown. Shah, *Contagious Divides*. For an interpretation that finds Chinese agency in San Francisco Chinatown's built environment, see Philip P. Choy, "The Architecture of San Francisco Chinatown," *Chinese America: History and Perspective* 1990 (1990); Philip P. Choy, "San Francisco Chinatown's Historic Development," in *The Chinese American Experience: Papers from the Second National Conference on Chinese American Studies*, ed. Genny Lim (San Francisco: The Chinese Historical Society of America and The Chinese Culture Foundation of San Francisco, 1984).
- ⁵² A census taken by General Greely on June 1, 1906, estimated 40,000 refugees living in the relief camps. The Southern Pacific Railroad estimated 42,000 refugees in the city, while the *Relief Survey* researchers computed 39,000. O'Connor, "Organizing the Force and Emergency Methods," p. 77.
- ⁵³ The estimate for native born refugees is based on a tally of heads of families, where the nationality of the family was assumed to be identical to the father. The estimate for official camp population by gender is based on the period from September 1906 to December 1906. "Nationality of Population of San Francisco in 1900, Compared With Nationality of Heads of Families Among Refugees in 1906," Table 20, *ibid.*, p. 75.
- ⁵⁴ Historians William Issel and Robert W. Cherney calculate San Francisco's native-born population in 1900 at 64.5 percent. According to the *Relief Survey*, approximately 14.3 percent of the refugees were Irish and 8.1 percent were Italian. "Race, Nativity, and Origin of the Population of San Francisco, 1870, 1900, and 1930," Table 5, Issel, *San Francisco*, p. 56. "Nationality of Population of San Francisco in 1900, Compared With Nationality of Heads of Families Among Refugees in 1906," Table 20, O'Connor, "Organizing the Force and Emergency Methods," p. 75.
- ⁵⁵ One year after the disaster, for example, over half of the remaining twelve relief camps were located in or near the pre-disaster Irish and Italian neighborhoods. Calculated by author from the Map of San Francisco Relief, *San Francisco Relief Survey*, ed. Russell Sage Foundation (New York: Survey Associates, Inc., 1913).
- ⁵⁶ The first citywide refugee registration tallied only 13 percent of San Francisco's refugees within the destroyed area, most living in the four camps established there. Calculated by author. *Ibid.*
- ⁵⁷ Paul Boyer, *Urban Masses and Moral Order in America, 1820–1920* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1978), p. 190.
- ⁵⁸ H. R. Richmond to Camp Commanders, Memorandum, circa July 1, 1906, René Bine Papers, MS 3650, Box 2, Folder 15, California Historical Society.
- ⁵⁹ The Relief Camp Admissions Form, General A. W. Greely to Relief Camp Commanders, June 12, 1906, René Bine Papers, MS 3650, Box 2, Folder 15, California Historical Society.
- ⁶⁰ Constance Lawrence Dean, "Call Woman Lives for a Week in a Relief Camp," *The San Francisco Call*, July 16, 1906.
- ⁶¹ Commander Bine's review of the kitchens was made on July 19, 1906. Rodriguez, *The Earthquake of 1906*, pp. 44–45.
- ⁶² W. C. Hassler, "Resumé of Work of Sanitation Performed by the Board of Health from April 18th, 1906 to Date," August 14, 1906, in *San Francisco Municipal Reports, 1905–06 and 1906–07*, p. 519.
- ⁶³ Major Gaston, Order re: Dining Service, René Bine Papers, MS 3650, Box 2, Folder 15, California Historical Society; Rodriguez, *The Earthquake of 1906*, pp. 62–63.
- ⁶⁴ Constance Lawrence Dean, "Call Woman Lives for a Week in a Relief Camp," *The San Francisco Call*, July 16, 1906.
- ⁶⁵ *San Francisco Call*, May 12, 1906, cited in Rodriguez, *The Earthquake of 1906*, p. 21.
- ⁶⁶ René Bine, Memo to Campers, (n.d.), René Bine Papers, MS 3650, Box 2, Folder 15, California Historical Society.

- ⁶⁷ René Bine re: Miss K. Sheehan, René Bine Papers, ms 3650, Box 2, Folder 16, California Historical Society.
- ⁶⁸ René Bine re: Mrs. Allie Bailey, René Bine Papers, ms 3650, Box 2, Folder 16 California Historical Society.
- ⁶⁹ Linda McDowell, *Gender, Identity and Place: Understanding Feminist Geographies* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), p. 4.
- ⁷⁰ Chamber of Commerce, *Report of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce Citizens' Relief Committee* (Los Angeles: 1908), pp. 8–9.
- ⁷¹ Calculated from the 1900 San Rafael Census and "Thousands Seek Refuge in Marin," *San Francisco Bulletin*, April 21, 1906, p. 3.
- ⁷² G. H. Marx, Chairman of Distribution Committee, "Citizens of Palo Alto," Proclamation, April 23, 1906, in Dick, *Palo Alto 1906*, p. 24.
- ⁷³ "Sheriff Takes Precautions," *Marin Journal*, April 18, 1906.
- ⁷⁴ Eleanor Warner Rawlings to Stuart Rawlings, April 22, 1906, reprinted in "Mamma's' Earthquake Letter," *The Mill Valley Historical Review* (Spring 1991): 2.
- ⁷⁵ "Good Work of the Sausalito Board of Health," *Sausalito News*, April 28, 1906; "Saloons in Sausalito Must Remain Closed," notice in *Sausalito News*, April 28, 1906; Phil Frank, "Witness to Disaster," *Moments in Time: Sausalito Historical Society Newsletter* (Spring 2002): 2.
- ⁷⁶ "Vacant Houses for Homeless," *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 24, 1906.
- ⁷⁷ *Sausalito News*, April 28, 1906.
- ⁷⁸ According to Mel Scott, a "San Francisco–Oakland Axis in the Bay Area" was established in the 1870s, when Oakland gained the major railroad terminus. Scott, *The San Francisco Bay Area*, p. 67.
- ⁷⁹ Dr. N. K. Foster quoted in "Relief Camps Will Be Concentrated," *Oakland Tribune*, April 29, 1906. Major General A. W. Greely, the Presidio commander in charge of San Francisco's relief camps, commanded the relief effort in Oakland. James B. Erwin, "Work of the Military."
- ⁸⁰ Evarts I. Blake, *Greater Oakland* (Oakland, CA: Pacific Publishing Company, 1911).
- ⁸¹ "Relief Committees Doing Great Work," *Berkeley Reporter*, April 20, 1906.
- ⁸² At least 10,250 refugees were registered in Berkeley, 2,000 of whom were Chinese and Japanese refugees from San Francisco. "The Work Berkeley Has Done," *Berkeley Daily Gazette*, April 26, 1906.
- ⁸³ 5,584 refugees were accounted for in 1,137 homes by the second housing card survey. Conservative estimates held that 570 refugees were originally housed by Berkeley volunteers, bringing the total number of privately housed refugees to 6,154. Records of the total number of refugees in Berkeley did not survive. The *Berkeley Daily Gazette* estimated 8,250 non-Asian refugees in Berkeley on April 26th. Calculated from Berkeley Relief Committee Housing Cards, Berkeley Relief Committee Records, CA 167, Box 2, Bancroft Library; "The Work Berkeley Has Done," *Berkeley Daily Gazette*, April 26, 1906.
- ⁸⁴ A total of 1,396 households were recorded by the Berkeley Relief Committee, 49 percent (678) listed female occupants almost all of whom were married. In addition, 32 percent of these households were equipped with telephones. In the second survey of 1,137 residences, less than one percent (41) charged refugees for room and or board. Calculated by author from the Berkeley Relief Committee Housing Cards, Berkeley Relief Committee Records, Bancroft Library.
- ⁸⁵ Mrs. Puter, 1517 Spruce Street; Mrs. M. E. Delong, 2645 Benvenue Avenue, Berkeley Relief Committee Records, Bancroft Library.
- ⁸⁶ Immediately following the disaster, the committee printed up information cards where volunteers could specify the number and gender of refugees that they could accommodate. The cards allotted space to designate: number of refugee men, women, or children; bedding, tent, board, or "Other supplies you can offer"; and a small area for remarks. Relief committee investigators matched refugees to volunteers, sending the refugees with an announcement stating, "In response to your generous offer, please accommodate the bearer of this Card." Out of the original 259 volunteer housing cards at least 64 percent of the volunteers were sent refugees. The BRC printed 3,000 cards dated April 18, 1906, to record housing volunteer information. After matching refugees to homes, the refugee's name was recorded on the back of each card. Of the 259 cards saved by the BRC, 167 (64 percent) received refugees. Calculated by author from Berkeley Relief Committee Housing Cards, Berkeley Relief Committee Records, Bancroft Library.
- ⁸⁷ E. J. Peck, 2229 Channing Way, Berkeley Relief Committee Housing Cards; Joseph LeConte, 2739 Bancroft Way, Berkeley Relief Committee Records, Bancroft Library.
- ⁸⁸ Mrs. J. G. Wright, 2001 Francisco, Berkeley Relief Committee Records Bancroft Library.

- ⁸⁹ George Roberts, 2720 Derby, Berkeley Relief Committee Records, Bancroft Library.
- ⁹⁰ Mrs. L. A. McAfee, 2640 Dwight Way, Berkeley Relief Committee Records, Bancroft Library.
- ⁹¹ Relief Committee workers wrote the name of designated refugee(s) on the back of the volunteer's information card. Each refugee was given an introduction card, with the name and address of the volunteer handwritten on the card, to show the volunteer homeowner. Calculated by author from the Berkeley Relief Committee Housing Cards, Berkeley Relief Committee Records, Bancroft Library.
- ⁹² By April 25, 1906, the BRC had investigated over 1,100 homes "to enable Berkeley to get its share of relief funds." As in the first housing card, the second housing card recorded the name, address, and telephone number of the resident. The second round of cards replaced questions regarding quality of accommodations with the following questions: "Number of Refugees housed to date"; Number at present being housed"; "How long can these remain"; "Can house—Men / Women / Children—more." Berkeley Relief Committee Records, Bancroft Library.
- ⁹³ Scott, *The San Francisco Bay Area*, p. 94. For a brief biography of Francis Smith, see Beth Bagwell, *Oakland: The Story of a City* (Novato, CA: Presidio Press, 1982).
- ⁹⁴ The Magee Tract went from present day Martin Luther King to California Street and Addison Street to Dwight Way. Magee Tract Advertisement, Ferrier & Company, cited in Richard Schwartz, *Berkeley 1900: Daily Life at the Turn of the Century* (Berkeley: RSB Books, 2000), p. 172.
- ⁹⁵ Robert Duponey, *Berkeley Reporter*, December 1906, cited in *ibid.*, p. 157.
- ⁹⁶ "Appendix A: Components of the IPUR Metropolitan Area: Population, 1852–1960," Kingsley and Eleanor Langlois Davis, "Future Demographic Growth of the San Francisco Bay Area," in *The San Francisco Bay Area: Its Problems and Future*, ed. Stanley Scott (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1966), p. 18.
- ⁹⁷ Unknown source, quoted in Trish Hawthorne, "Almost the State Capital," in *Exactly Opposite the Golden Gate*, ed. Phil McArdle, pp. 20–21 (Berkeley: Berkeley Historical Society, 1983).
- ⁹⁸ Reverend Jee Gam, whose family was burned out of San Francisco, temporarily relocated to the Chinese Mission in Berkeley. His comments on the disaster were paraphrased in the Christian weekly, *The Pacific*. "Conditions in the Churches the First Week in May," *The Pacific*, May 10, 1906.
- ⁹⁹ Fred Wong, oral history interview, in Laura Wong, "Vallejo's Chinese Community, 1860–1960," *Chinese America: Historical Perspectives* 1988, p. 159.
- ¹⁰⁰ Leland Chin in Nee, *Longtime Californ'*, p. 77.
- ¹⁰¹ Marin County Census data cited in L. Eve Armentrout Ma, "Chinese in Marin County, 1850–1950: A Century of Growth and Decline," *Chinese America: History and Perspectives* (1991): 37.
- ¹⁰² Few Chinese refugees registered with the Berkeley Relief Committee, accounting for only 1 percent of the committee's registered relief households and 2 percent of the refugees. One-third of the refugees were housed in Chinese businesses, while the majority stayed in American Chinese residences. Only two non-Chinese-surnamed households registered Chinese refugees, one volunteered to house "15 Chinamen," and the other housed a single, male, Sam Yuen, who was most likely a servant. In contrast, the remaining Chinatown refugees were not placed by the relief committee but were registered by investigators who canvassed homes and businesses in Berkeley. Calculated by author from 1,396 Berkeley Relief Committee Relief Cards, Berkeley Relief Records, Bancroft Library.
- ¹⁰³ In the Berkeley Relief Committee records, 15 refugees was the average group size of American Chinese refugees. The Lee Yaik Company was at 2150 Dwight Way, and Hong Wo was listed at 2152 Dwight Way. The *Berkeley Daily Gazette* reported that at least 350 American Chinese refugees were "confined to the Dwight way district." The report also indicated that single men were separated from women, noting that women were housed at a Chinese grocery store and men at a laundry near Shattuck Avenue. Berkeley Housing Cards; "Caring for Chinese," *Berkeley Daily Gazette*, April 21, 1906.
- ¹⁰⁴ Between the 1900 and 1910 U.S. Censuses, Berkeley's Chinese population grew from 154 to 451. Erica Y. Z. Pan, "Chinese Populations in Major Cities," *The Impact of the 1906 Earthquake on San Francisco's Chinatown* (New York: Peter Lang, 1995), p. 145.
- ¹⁰⁵ John Dundas Fletcher, "An Account of the Work of Relief Organized in Berkeley in April and May, 1906, for the Refugees from San Francisco," (University of California Berkeley, 1909).

THE TRIUMPHANT PARTNERSHIP

California Cities and the Winning of World War II

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By Roger Lotchin

“Riders were very appropriate to a western war, but these horsemen were a diverse bunch, some looking like remnants of the Old West and others like modern cosmopolitan gentlemen. One group patrolled the ocean-front of San Francisco after dark. While the residents of the nearby Sunset and Seacliff districts huddled around their radios, blinds lowered and curtains pulled, listening to war news or to *One Man's Family*, other residents rode the beaches. Mounted on their own ponies, the men of the San Francisco Polo Club labored through the sands of China Beach, Baker Beach, and [Ocean Beach], looking for Imperial Japanese intruders. Far to the south, guns on their hips, another group of riders wound along the paths of the ‘famed Green Verdugo Hills, lying between La Crescenta Valley and the aircraft production area of Glendale and Burbank.’ These cowboys from the Onondarka Ranch, ‘realizing the ever-increasing threat of sabotage’ in the hills, served as the night patrol against sabotage for the county sheriff and the forestry department. Still farther south, the celebrated Buffalo Soldier horse cavalry of the United States Army rode the trails along the Mexican border. They carried guns with the triggers lashed down and barrels stuffed shut to avoid incidents with the Mexican troops across the international boundary. Anywhere else these riders would have seemed out of place and time, but in the West they seemed fitting.¹

"With the news of . . . Pearl Harbor, the border troops were ordered to Camp Lockett to reinforce the defenders there." In and around San Diego, "everything was apprehension and uncertainty. Thousands of people streamed out of" the city over the mountain road, fleeing the beleaguered port. "They had been told that all nonessential civilian personnel had to leave, . . . but they certainly meant to come back. As the mobile columns met on the mountainside, the white occupants of the retreating family caravans leaned out their car windows, yelling to the advancing horse-borne black troops, 'Go get 'em, Boys. Go get 'em!'"²

The interaction of these two groups, Caucasian and African American, emphasizes the fundamental reality of World War II. It brought together disparate and often hostile groups in a common endeavor. With the perfection of the airplane bomber, homefronts became battlefields in such places as Leningrad, Stalingrad, London, Manchester, Coventry, Berlin, Cologne, Antwerp, and Hamburg. No one needed to remind these urban residents of the reality of war; they heard it nightly in the air raid sirens and saw it in a hundred burning cityscapes.³ With a few exceptions, Americans cities were never attacked, so they had to imagine the war.

Civil defense and homefront activities stimulated those imaginations with a vengeance. Defense and civil defense preparations proceeded on the assumption that the cities could be attacked and must be mobilized. Historians have often believed that the outbreak of war made Californians hysterical. However, that is a psychological term that would be hard to pin onto seven million people. It seems clear that Californians were afraid, perhaps panicked, but most of the fear and panic stemmed from the actions and statements of federal, state, or local politicians. An invasion seemed far-fetched, but a raid on coastal cities from aircraft-carrier planes was a possibility. People had some reason to be afraid, but hardly hysterical. Mary Jean Potts, in an oral history, remembered that she was afraid when an air-raid alert stopped auto and rail traffic on the San Francisco Bay Bridge. "However, instead of rushing out of the trains and autos onto the bridge and running, in a movie-style mob, for the Yerba Buena Island tunnels for shelter, the passengers stayed put. Soon the conductor passed through the cars, saying 'Don't be alarmed, everybody. This is a black-out. Roosevelt has said to practice.'"⁴

San Francisco learned of the magnitude of the Pearl Harbor defeat when ships carrying the wounded and refugee civilians streamed through

the Golden Gate in full view of the city. People rushed to the harbor to find loved ones or just to witness a historic moment. The police set up barricades and people waited. The cabbies and ambulances carrying the wounded and the refugees soon spread the word that the defeat had been serious. The people at the docks did not riot, tear their hair, assault the police barricades, or run about hysterically. They waited patiently in the drizzle. Their vigil could end in grief or relief, but either way they calmly took military and civilian refugees into their homes and institutions to care for them.⁵

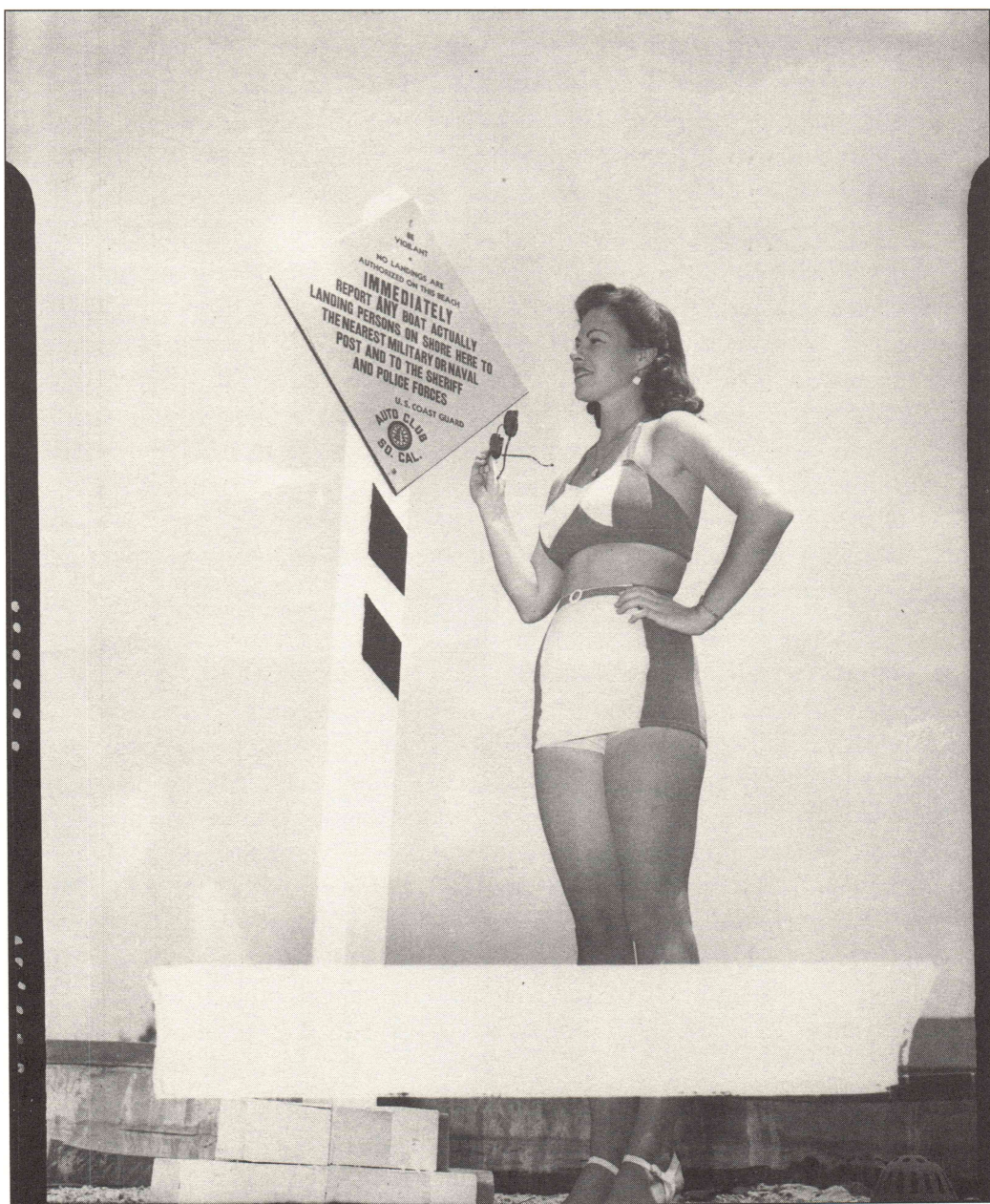
Then, for the most part, they and their counterparts in Los Angeles, Oakland, and San Diego buckled down to the task of organizing the home-front for production and civil defense.⁶ In doing so, they helped stimulate a remarkable sense of community. The various groups in society still had their differences, but these were not over the war. Various large-scale events encouraged this unity. In San Francisco the networks shut off outside broadcasting to allow people to participate in a five-minute mass radio prayer. In L.A., the city, by way of radio, staged a mock attack on Pearl Harbor to commemorate the one-year anniversary. The military created sham battles in Kezar Stadium, the L.A. Coliseum, and other sports arenas. Not everyone observed the blackouts, but they brought together whole metropolitan areas. In the first Bay Area blackout, "From San Jose in the south to Napa in the north and from the breakers on the Great Highway in San Francisco many miles into the East Bay, most lights went off, the power went out, civilian transportation ceased, and people settled in somewhere in the great metropolitan region. . . . Seldom do urbanites share such experiences."⁷

At sea, gentlemen's yachts and Catalina flying boats patrolled for enemy craft; spotters sat atop the hills of San Francisco and San Diego; volunteers backed them up in their private planes; and filter centers plotted all aircraft until identified. Civil defense wardens instructed people on how to douse magnesium incendiaries, and an army of air wardens, initially 33,000 in L.A., 20,000 in San Francisco, and 10,000 in San Diego, watched for fires, enforced the dim-outs, and backed up the firemen. First aid and damage clearance groups stood ready if needed. Schools practiced evacuation drills into slit trenches on the grounds and dog tagged the children. In L.A., famed for its pet cemeteries, civil defense even provided anti-anxiety drugs for the pets and dog tagged the canines too. Sand bags went up around key buildings, like the San Francisco telephone building.

San Diego thought evacuation was not feasible, but San Francisco, apparently inspired by the British, disagreed. They actually staged an evacuation drill of 1,500 people from the Marina and Aquatic Park to Pier 60, using private boats, as a "readiness test." This "Dunkirk at the Marina" never had to be carried out under wartime conditions, but it indicated how organized civil defense was. Someone proposed that Alcatraz also be evacuated, but that suggestion promptly created a Bay Area NIMBY consensus against these desperadoes.⁸ The threat of air war banished the 1942 Rose Bowl to Duke University, shut down nighttime recreation department activities, and closed the famed Santa Anita racetrack. Since loose lips could sink ships, urbanites were told to zip them, and bartenders and cosmetologists were encouraged to monitor compliance. The radio and the newspapers, especially the *San Francisco Chronicle*, *Oakland Tribune*, *Los Angeles Times*, and *San Diego Union*, faithfully broadcast the civil defense message, as did clubs, schools, vets' organizations, billboards, and, in San Francisco, even parks, where residents learned how to cope with incendiaries. "Los Angeles, with its proximity to the dramatic influences of Hollywood, went them one better by staging civil defense pageants in the playgrounds, employing children as actors."⁹

Remarkably, most of this activity functioned through the city governments, the schools, and the extraordinary network of urban clubs and voluntary organizations. When the spotters needed models to help identify enemy planes, the Oakland Cloud Dusters Club leader turned his house into a workshop to fabricate model planes and then persuaded the public schools to mass produce them. When baby sitters were needed to free Upper Mission District mothers for civil defense, the Vickies, Volunteers for Victory, a group of young San Francisco girls, sprang up to tend the kids. And when Los Angeles needed casualty stations, a laundry list of volunteers stepped up—the Brentwood Golf Club, UCLA, Union Station, Blessed Sacrament School, the Elks, Wilshire Methodist Episcopal Church, and sundry high schools.¹⁰

Urbanites were almost diabolically clever in encouraging participation. Cities could finance a ship (and L.A. financed five, including a cruiser), if not that, a plane, if not that, a PT boat, and if not that, a torpedo. The press publicized these activities and also the more negative ones by publishing draft dodgers' names. Alhambra Junior High School took the high road with an honor roll, by which students were regularly paraded as the list of



ON THE LOOKOUT FOR SABOTEURS ON CALIFORNIA'S BEACHES.
The sign reads, "Immediately report ANY boat actually landing persons on shore
here to the nearest military or naval post and to the sheriff and police forces."
The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

its servicemen grew. In short, civil defense activists found ingenious ways to encourage participation. The emphasis on disruption and hysteria fails to comprehend this reality. Californians were not running around in psychological circles. A power failure and blackout in New York City in 1977 triggered widespread looting and rioting.¹¹ By contrast, wartime urban Californians organized for defense in a cool, tough minded way.¹²

And it should be said that the United States was very fortunate to be a nation of cities. Americans have historically been skeptical of their cities, perhaps none more than L.A. Yet every city has a mostly unused capacity that can be more fully exploited in case of emergency. Theaters often run half empty; football stadiums are seldom used; many streets are utilized only intermittently; open spaces are largely unoccupied, except during weekends and holidays; many housing and business structures are occupied only partially; and buses and subways run half empty after peak hours. *We might justly call these latent military resources.* During the Forties War, this excess capacity was a priceless asset for a beleaguered government. None was more important than the surplus labor supply.¹³

And none was stranger than the prisons. As the labor shortage mounted, it brought the prisons into the war effort. At San Quentin, a reporter discovered one of "the Nation's Strangest Assembly Lines," which manufactured the third US ration book. "The convicts all were volunteers; they completely organized and supervised their own work, and they guarded the finished product." Even the warden needed permission to enter the storage area at night from the convict guarding it. Prison band director "Major" John Hendricks, "doing the book [a life sentence] for a murder rap," ran the venture. As *San Francisco Chronicle* columnist J. Campbell Bruce put it, "Hendricks . . . had put together 'the strangest roster of employees a personnel manager ever saw—murderers, thugs, robbers, burglars, embezzlers, bad check artists, swindlers, and thieves of every category.'"¹⁴

Hendricks organized one thousand men into specialized sections, like an auto assembly plant minus the mechanization. Each convict performed one task, "opening request letters, stuffing, and licking envelopes." The seals on the ration book envelopes sent to an unsuspecting public must have contained the largest concentration of criminal DNA in the history of American law enforcement. San Quentin also manufactured the anti-submarine nets that stretched across the Golden Gate Strait, textiles for the

Vallejo Navy Yard, mattresses, metal desks, and even landing craft. Alcatraz seemed to specialize in laundry, doing the wash from incoming merchant ships and many of the bases around the bay. We don't know if Al Capone, "Public Enemy Number One," cleaned anyone's socks, but his inmate "associates" certainly did. City jails countrywide, beginning with those in San Francisco, also paroled convicts to work in defense. Although San Quentin and Alcatraz were a state and a federal prison, respectively, their experience and that of the San Francisco city jail "reminds us that metropolitan areas are vast repositories of underutilized resources, which can easily be turned to some other account."¹⁵

The heavy concentration of defense activities in the urban areas demanded even more workers, who could be either imported workers or underused labor in cities. The latter eventually made up 40 percent of the work force and was much more valuable than in-migrant labor, upon whom historians have concentrated. City dwellers already had housing, food, transportation, schools, and recreation. As the young men left, single and married women, Okies, high school boys, retirees, the elderly, African Americans, Chinese Americans, civil prisoners, POWs, and the handicapped stepped in. For example, Lockheed and Douglas Aircraft "pioneered in hiring the blind," using seeing-eye dogs to "guide their masters to their work benches." Migrants made up a larger percent of the work force, but they used up train space, gasoline, and tires getting to California and, once there, required the fresh services indicated. Local workers did not require that tradeoff and contributed much more per capita.¹⁶

Others met spot markets. In Los Angeles, 5,000 temporary volunteers of married women, high-school boys and girls, and retired postal clerks, a number equal to the regular postal staff, turned out to cope with the Christmas mail rush. Nearly 100,000 other urbanites, usually young girls and housewives, appeared in "rolled-up jeans, tied-up shirtwaists, and bandanna-knotted hair" to pick the Sonoma apple or the Central Valley tomato harvests in 1945. When the army needed to reinforce Australia just after Pearl Harbor, the transport ship bunks were not ready. The Oakland public schools furloughed "sea scouts," who spliced together 140 miles of rope berths in seventeen days. Someone always seemed to step up.¹⁷

Some assets seemed most unlikely. Much of the L.A. and San Francisco municipal transit was sadly run down. Initially, most workers rode to the plants in their cars. Yet as tires wore out, many shifted to carpooling and

enough switched to streetcars and buses to create a transit renaissance.¹⁸ By war's end, even the limping L.A. system carried 1,000,000 persons daily; and in San Diego, where carpooling thrived, transit hauled 353,000 daily, or 129,000,000 per annum. Despite all the talk of auto commuting, a Bay Area conductorette remembered people actually fighting to get on the streetcars. A scarcity of cars and transit might have seriously restricted output. Instead, the work force of Fortress California could commute in a great variety of ways. For example, by war's end, one could drive from San Francisco to the Marinship yards in Sausalito, bus to the Richmond yards or to Moore in Oakland, take the ferry to the Kaiser yards in Richmond, ride the trolley from Oakland to Richmond, and walk to the yards in East Oakland. Cities never completely solved the transportation problem, but they coped well enough to keep production rolling.¹⁹

And well enough even to turn urban sprawl into an asset. Although politically fragmented, the metropolitan areas were economically integrated, tightly bound by highways, rails, light rails, telephones, bridges, and countless human connections. Sprawl has been almost universally denounced, but plants and bases required lots of room. Greg Hise notes that some aircraft factories were decentralized for exactly that reason. Sprawl allowed defense facilities to utilize suburban space and the infrastructure and services of suburban towns such as Riverside, Burbank, or Inglewood. The horizontal morphology and its economic integration allowed cities to function more effectively as both a military organization and a defense production unit.²⁰

Airports and harbors were another public transportation asset. Los Angeles, Oakland, San Francisco, and San Diego turned over most of their airports and harbors to the war effort. The government built docks and piers of their own but profited enormously from these urban facilities.²¹

Another precious urban gift to the war effort was water, a significant booster achievement. By 1941, Los Angeles received water from both the Owens Valley and the Colorado River; San Francisco had opened its Hetch Hetchy system in 1934; Oakland and the East Bay cities had opened their new works in 1923, and other places bought from these or built their own.²² Unlike today, they had a lot of excess capacity, which the military desperately needed. The government built bases all over California and, as elsewhere in the United States, often used municipal water to supply instant military cities of 10,000 to 20,000 men. The Desert Training Center, in the

high Mojave Desert east of L.A., dwarfed even these. Designed to train men to fight in the North African Desert, the center became the largest base in the world, training over a million men and women and housing 191,620 at one time in 1943. Created and commanded by a Californian, General George Patton, the site was chosen because it was adjacent to the Colorado River Aqueduct running to metropolitan L.A. Mass water systems could not be improvised overnight, like barracks, streets, or temporary wartime housing in small southern towns. Without this urban water, the war probably could not have been fought out of these desert locales.²³

Since the 1870s, cities had built impressive public parks: Griffith in L.A., Golden Gate in San Francisco, Balboa in San Diego, and East Bay Regional partly in Oakland. Each city lent a part of its parks and playgrounds for tent colonies to house servicemen. In addition to its zoo, San Diego volunteered its magnificent Balboa Park to become Marine Corps Camp Kidd. Schools served as well. Victory gardens sprouted in residents' yards, school and junior college grounds, and park lands.²⁴ Much of the training that turned housewives into Rosie Riveters and Wanda Welders, that taught other women to be draftspersons, and that remade high-school boys into mechanics, took place after hours in the public school systems.²⁵ Other schools administered the rationing system and lent their buildings for various purposes. San Diego led in this effort. San Quentin lent a hand, too, training cooks for the Merchant Marine. "Prison cuisine for the merchant marine" did not make a good wartime slogan, but evidently it ate well.²⁶

Housing was yet another latent war resource and the biggest problem in war production. Shipbuilding and aircraft jumped from 10,000 and 20,000, respectively, to 280,000, and 244,000. This crunch transformed public housing from reform housing, designed for the poor, into war-workers' housing. In Vallejo and Richmond, true shock cities of the war, federal agencies constructed massive new housing projects. By 1945, these two cities had perhaps 50 percent public housing, an astounding figure for American cities. Los Angeles and Oakland got much less, and San Francisco and San Diego received something in between. Still, in the big cities the authorities did not build nearly enough housing to shelter these expanded populations. The latent resources of cities made up the difference.²⁷

Conversion provided some respite. Some let spare rooms, basements, and back porches. Others told horror stories of migrants sleeping in chicken coops; many slept in Balboa or Golden Gate parks. Cities allowed tent



Even starlets contributed to the war effort, here promoting rubber collection.
The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

colonies in the parks. The Catholic Church gymnasiums and the San Francisco Laguna Honda Home for the elderly indigent took in weekend guests. Spaces for another 60,000 in L.A. came from the ill-fated Japanese. San Diegans in general and working-class housewives in East Oakland were especially eager to rent. "The city manager of Oakland claimed that 30 percent of the workers in Richmond and 20 percent of all Bay Area shipyard workers lived in Oakland," where not much public housing existed. By hook or crook, the great California cities transformed themselves into vast dormitories for defense laborers or weekendening servicemen.²⁸

The shortage caused great distress, though not as much as the Asian jungles that GIs inhabited. Still, the problems could not be fully solved without taking men, machines, and materials from the war effort; and despite the discomfort, the housing crisis did not seriously undermine production.

Scrap was another urban asset. Betty Smith, in the novel *A Tree Grows in Brooklyn*, and, later, historian David Nasaw have reminded us that cities are world-class junkyards.²⁹ War transformed this urban trash into a martial asset. Los Angeles alone collected 13.8 million tons of scrap in the first half of 1943. An Essex Class aircraft carrier required only 27,000 tons of steel, so L.A. could have built a few. Amusingly, the largest source of junk came from the "vast quantities" in the "auto graveyards" of this oft-reviled car culture.³⁰

Historians have not agreed on how much additional capital plant and equipment were built to win the war.³¹ However that debate comes out, cities made a singular contribution as well. To an extraordinary degree, boosters built California cities much larger than they needed to be. Without the boosters who helped produce the outsized urbanization of California, the Second World War military would have needed to build endless miles of roads, highways, bridges, sanitary and storm sewers, open spaces, docks, berths, breakwaters, aqueducts, power plants, housing, educational plants, recreational venues, and other requirements of war. "Expending those resources would have made industrial production much less efficient." In the American South, where urbanization was retarded, the government did have to invest in many of these assets. Americans have often been skeptical of or hostile toward their cities, but World War II California was lucky to have them. Bigger was better.³²

The story of ethnocultural and gender groups is also mainly positive except for the tragedy of the Japanese Americans.³³ Surprisingly, Pearl Harbor did not cause an immediate backlash. For a month, most people and the press defended the Japanese, but due to a complex mix of circumstances, their situation began to worsen. On February 19, 1942, President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed an executive order to allow the military to move both citizens and non-citizens away from sensitive areas on the West Coast. In March the order was used to relocate Japanese Americans to ten camps in the West and South. This well-adjusted and progressive minority was not guilty of either espionage or sabotage, and none of the intelligence services thought it necessary to remove them. Nor did any serious observer fear a West Coast invasion. Historians have called this ordeal one of the worst civil rights violations in American history, and it also injured the economy, strapped as it was for labor for food production. But a lobby of growers, nationalists, labor unions, immigration restrictionists, politicians, and federal military and civil bureaucrats, ostensibly concerned about national security, eventually prevailed. My only disagreement with the Japanese American story is that it usually overemphasizes racism. These Americans were not a race; they were Asians of Japanese descent. It was nationalism and the weakness of federal officials, especially Attorney General Francis Biddle and General John De Witt, head of the Western Defense Command, that victimized them. One hundred and fifty thousand Hawaiians of Japanese descent, as well as other Asians, were not relocated, so it is not plausible to blame relocation of West Coast Japanese Americans primarily on race. This is not to deny that many Californians and federal bureaucrats were racists but rather to assert that the government singled out the Japanese primarily because of nationality.³⁴ Nor is it accurate to call the camps concentration camps.³⁵

Fortunately, the war impacted other groups in a modestly positive way. Blacks invented the slogan of the Double V. They wanted not only to win the war but also to enhance their place in American society.³⁶ Yet every other group had a similar Double V. They wanted to win the war and enhance their place in American society. Time does not permit a full discussion, but several groups are illustrative.

Although the Chinese Americans were the same race as the Japanese, their fate was strikingly different.³⁷ Like the Nisei, second-generation Chinese were Americanized. They wore bobby sox, listened to the radio,



An apple provides scant comfort for a Japanese American child en route to a relocation camp. *Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, FSA-OWI Collection.*

danced to the big bands, attended schools, played sports, and coveted cars. However, mainstream Americans did not accept them. Although they revered their ancestral land, China was ravaged by war from 1937 on. These Americans were torn between two cultures. They could not get in over here nor return over there. Though they paid in blood, the war solved their dilemma.

Before 1937, discrimination had restricted Chinese American activities mostly to Chinatowns. The Imperial Japanese invasion of China in 1937 changed that. Chinese Americans responded with boycotts of Japan-

ese goods and stores, fund raising for the war in the homeland, and protests against sending US scrap iron to Japan for use against their already tortured mother country. From the time that they ventured down to the docks in Oakland, San Francisco, and Los Angeles to protest the export of scrap, the Chinese never looked back. When Pearl Harbor drew the United States into the conflict, Chinatowns merely broadened their commitment to affirm both countries. The war made Chinese Americans a valuable ally and lessened bias. They now got jobs in the shipyards which paid better than did curio stores or garment shops. They began to learn the ways of politics, and they entered the services and served in integrated units. The uniform opened public places to them and qualified them for VA loans and the GI Bill. Men fared better than women, but both progressed. The war began to lead them out of Chinatowns. It did not reverse their status overnight, but as K. Scott Wong has noted, it laid the foundation for striking postwar advances.³⁸

Italian Americans were much more numerous and integrated, so they could not be relocated. General De Witt toyed with the idea but then decided against it.³⁹ Unfortunately, the government did classify first-generation Italians as "enemy aliens," a decision that was fundamentally wrong because these Italians were not enemies. Nonetheless, the decision injured Italians in many ways. Fortunately, Washington lifted the stigma on Columbus Day, 1942, just in time for the election. Otherwise, Italian Americans prospered. They renounced Mussolini, worked in defense and civil defense, fought with distinction, left North Beach and the Lake Temescal District of Oakland, and other neighborhoods, got GI benefits, intermarried, and moved into the mainstream.⁴⁰

African and Mexican Americans made significant progress, too. Although they never overcame the problem of housing discrimination, they usually progressed in journalism, set up their own political institutions, gained good jobs, created a middle class, and founded cultural institutions like newspapers and churches. They made uneven progress in the unions and even in GI benefits but advanced there, too. Mainstream acceptance lagged, but toleration grew. Blacks remained segregated, but 500,000 Mexicans served in integrated military units.⁴¹ In her classic study of the Moore Shipyard in Oakland, Catherine Archibald characterized the place as a "seething cauldron," brimming with talk of lynching, where people worked "amid the dissonance of hatred."⁴² Yet no hanging occurred, nor even sig-

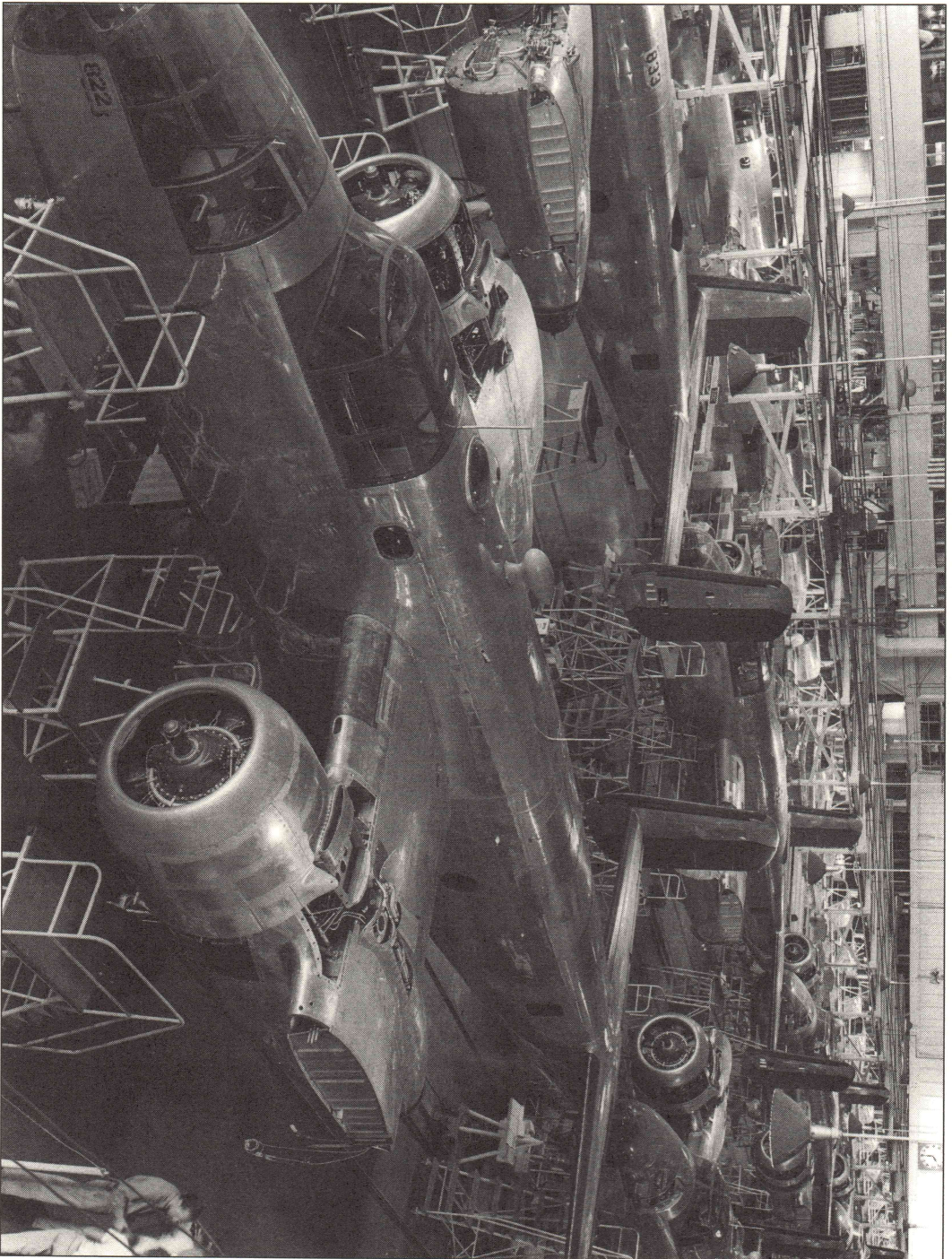


The explosion of jobs in defense industries meant an expanding role for women in the workplace.

Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, FSA-OWI Collection.

nificant riots, despite the Zoot Suit/sailor brawl of 1943, and there were relatively minor work stoppages.⁴³ These tensions did not seem to slow war production. This allegedly “seething” work force turned out ships at a record rate.

Women gained, both in self-esteem and economically. As the labor shortage grew, women moved into formerly all-male positions immediately, and as the scarcity became acute, they worked their way up the occupational ladder. Before long employers were begging for women. Charles Wollenberg put the breakthrough at Marinship in the summer of 1942, and by year’s end, women worked in an impressive variety of trades. In aircraft



B-25 bombers being assembled in one of California's giant airplane manufacturing plants.
Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, FSA-OWI Collection.

and shipbuilding their numbers eventually reached 20 to 50 percent. They were also employed as railroaders, blacksmiths, grease monkeys, radio broadcasters, draftspersons, welders (especially in the North Bay shipyards), as well as in the traditional secretarial trades.⁴⁴

Women made a signal contribution to the war effort and specifically to the maintenance of capitalism and democracy. Although Rosie the Riveter is the inevitable and partially mistaken symbol of female labor, many made contributions in white-collar and non-paid work as well. Political parties, the stock exchanges, newspapers, juries, and rationing boards found women doing either paid labor or voluntary work. The L.A. League of Women Voters even tasked itself to watchdog the system of rationing in the same way as the Truman Committee oversaw the larger war effort. Women organized and sustained bandaging manufacture in their homes so completely that the regular industry ceased for the duration, a kind of de-industrialization. Women drove officer transport vehicles and ambulances, carted materiel to the docks, brought coffee to the sentries on the bridges, drove taxis, steered convoys through the cities, and took over the platform work on the streetcars and buses. They staffed the USO with dancers. When major battles flooded the coastal cities with the wounded, women drove the men to hospitals, collected blood, served as nurses' aides, wrote letters home, and took the recovered men to the trains for the trip home or back to the front. They were omnipresent and indispensable. Historians focus on wage-earning women, but volunteer work was just as crucial to the war and more important in creating female self-esteem and independence.⁴⁵

All of these groups suffered discrimination and abuse, from unions, management, white men, and workers' wives opposed to women at work. They also gained something from the war, but to some, not enough. Cynthia Enloe voices this disappointment by querying whether the conflict was a good war for women. She does not think so, and many others have agreed that the impact of the war was not transformative enough.⁴⁶ Still, the most important question is not what these groups got out of the war but what they put into it. The war created a need for greatly expanded production, but since there was not enough skilled labor, nor time to train it, business had to rely on an unskilled work force for mass production. Unskilled Black, Hispanic, female, Chinese, and Italian workers were the only labor available. Their presence and willingness to work, even under conditions unsatisfactory to them, enabled the miracles of production to continue.⁴⁷

These miracles supplied US, British, and Russian forces with planes, tanks, trucks, jeeps, shoes, food, and explosives. Providing these prosaic necessities was not as heroic as fighting tank battles in Lorraine or pushing supplies through the murderous Greenland Gap in the North Atlantic. Nonetheless, the homefront achievements were breathtaking.

These are often attributed to a growing, powerful, and increasingly competent nation state. The American state certainly was a large part of the story, as Paul Koistinen and Keith Eiler have shown,⁴⁸ but another substantial part was the accommodation of millions of individuals to the requirements of war. The state could only give orders; someone else had to carry them out. Fortunately, business, labor, and others were able to do so. Their feat was one of organization, mass production, adaptation, and scale. Californians created huge organizations out of small ones and sometimes out of thin air; they developed means of production to cope with unskilled workers; they reoriented their production from familiar products to vastly unfamiliar ones, and they found ways to operate on a prodigious scale.

Politicians at the time and historians since have often observed that the war benefited big business too much.⁴⁹ Indeed, the conflict helped American big business a lot, but this paradigm does not fit the major California industries: aircraft and shipbuilding. Before the war, each was a small industry. Douglas Aircraft, one of the largest firms in aircraft assembly, employed only some 7,589 persons. Yet the war forced all of the firms to operate on an immensely larger basis. Within a year or two, firms like Lockheed employed as many as 90,000. The Joshua Hendy firm of the Bay Area, which built engines for Liberty and Victory ships, entered the war with 60 employees but by war's end employed 11,500. California shipbuilders worked some 8,000 men in 1939, but by 1943 employed perhaps 282,000.⁵⁰ Creating huge organizations in a year or two, out of tiny or nonexistent ones, was one of the great feats of the war.

Sometimes the scale problem worked in reverse. Due to labor or material shortages some businesses simply became dormant, and government had to downsize radically. By mid-war city governments were imposing a stretchout, to do more with less—15 to 20 percent fewer people.⁵¹

Dealing with the unfamiliar was daunting too. Before the war, the United States had only a small defense industry. Much of it was contained in the government arsenals and in the US navy yards like the one at Vallejo. Private contractors held developmental contracts and built some

materiel, but there was no huge arms industry like Krupps in Germany, Vickers in Great Britain, or Schneider-Creusot in France.⁵² The arsenals and navy yards could not cope with the huge new wartime demand for equipment, so private enterprise had to. In shipbuilding, modest-sized Bay Area firms like Bechtel, Kaiser, and the other partners of the famous six companies turned out thousands of Liberty, Victory, and other ships. Yet before the war none had ever manufactured a ship. They had built Hoover and other dams, highways, the Bay Bridge, and irrigation works, but not ships. Yet they overcame the organizational problems of scale and the intimidating ones of unfamiliarity and mass-produced ships in record times, including one Liberty ship in just over four days.⁵³

Switching from motor cars to tanks, as one L.A. plant did, was also a stretch, but at least tanks were wheeled internal-combustion land vehicles.⁵⁴ Hollywood mobilized directors, actors, and cartoonists to make training films that showed such things as the ravages of syphilis or those of an improperly managed hand grenade. When audiences tired of war movies, the Dream Factory reinvented the newsreel to keep the public engaged.⁵⁵ Colleges changed from educating undergraduates to teaching culture, language, and history to servicemen going abroad. Many other conversions were more alien.⁵⁶

Overnight, the YMCA, YWCA, Salvation Army, National Travelers Aid Association, National Catholic Community Service, and the National Jewish Welfare Board merged their recreational efforts to form something out of nothing and create the United Service Organizations, or USO, the largest entertainment organization in the world.⁵⁷ They ran camp, hospital, troopship, and jungle shows all over the world of war. The San Francisco Stage Door Canteen, opened in 1943, the famous Hollywood Canteen, where stars and starlets mingled with GIs, and local canteens in other cities ran other large-scale operations. A starlet tap dancing on a submarine deck or the Andrews Sisters leading the men and their loved ones in mournful singing as a troopship slipped away from the piers into the mists was a familiar image of war.⁵⁸

The workforce was often as unfamiliar as the work. The services eventually claimed 12.5 million men and 150,000 to 200,000 women from the labor force.⁵⁹ Industry needed to replace these employees and add another 6 million.⁶⁰ Women left the homes, boys quit high school, and industrial veterans left retirement to help. Douglas Aircraft alone employed 12,000



Newspaper headlines on VJ Day.
San Diego Historical Society.

disabled veterans, many of whom had never seen an airplane factory. Others were sightless or handicapped in cultural ways. Many hailed from the hills and mountains of the Ozarks or from Tennessee and Kentucky and had previously lived a heavily subsistence existence, only partially removed from the level of hunting and gathering. (I employ the phrase heavily subsistence existence to catch the nuance. The people referred to had little contact with the outside market and produced most of what they used but not all of what they used.) Most had to be trained from the ground up. Mass production was the only option. For example, it took four years to train a skilled shipwright, and shipbuilders simply did not have that kind of time. So they deskilled the jobs into the simplest of tasks to accommodate people with the simplest of skills. Somehow, industrialists transformed this disparate collection of housewives, single females, old men, schoolboys, furloughed soldiers, hunters and gatherers, prisoners, the blind, the halt, and the lame into an efficient labor force. The common sight of a seeing-eye dog leading his master to his workspace was an icon of both the extraordinary achievement of the industrial managers, engineers, and foremen and a symbol of the humanity of the Allies. The Nazis, after all, were killing their handicapped and employing slave labor instead.

World War II was the most momentous military conflict since 1618 [Editor's Note: since the Thirty Years' War, 1618–1648].⁶¹ For the United States, it was not about territory, glory, or colonies. It was about the balance of power, the only war in over three centuries in which civilization hung in the balance. Hitler and Tojo threatened the bases of western and eastern civilizations.

And that is why the principal story of the homefront should be about winning the war, not primarily about social gains and civil rights. *Principally*, it should be about the battle for production more than the battle of the sexes; it should be chiefly about civilization rather than civil rights; it should be more about workers' contributions than their conflicts with management or unions. It should be about both V's of the Double V. Viewed in this manner, it was obviously a good war.⁶²

Still, one must respect the convictions of those historians who have argued the civil rights and social perspective of the Second World War. Civil rights and equality of opportunity are fundamental to successful democracies, and we should never make light of them. The impact of the war on race, class, gender, and ethnicity was important, as I have argued.

Still, which was the greatest civil rights victory: one of the smaller gains won by a particular group, or the larger gain by society as a whole? Was there a greater civil rights triumph in the last four hundred years of western civilization than the defeat of Hitler and the containment of Stalin, two regimes unalterably opposed to the very idea of civil rights? US POWs in Japanese prison camps, who built clandestine radios and risked their lives to listen to the broadcasts from San Francisco, certainly knew what the stakes were. They thought of the broadcasts as the voice of freedom. World War II ended in a stunning victory for democracy and capitalism, and California cities made a remarkable contribution to it.

NOTES

¹ Roger W. Lotchin, *The Bad City in the Good War: San Francisco, Los Angeles, Oakland, and San Diego* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003), 1–2.

² Ibid.

³ For an overview of World War II see Gerhard Weinberg, *A World at Arms: A Global History of World War II* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Basil Henry Liddell Hart, *A History of the Second World War* (London: Cassell, 1970); and Richard Overy, *Russia's War: A History of the Soviet War Effort, 1941–1945* (London: Penguin, 1998).

⁴ Lotchin, *Bad City*, 31.

⁵ Ibid., 26–27.

⁶ For civil defense see Arthur C. Verge, *Paradise Transformed: Los Angeles During the Second World War* (Dubuque: Kendall/Hunt Publishing Company, 1993), 21–38; and Lotchin, *Bad City*, 27–50.

⁷ Lotchin, *Bad City*, 38–40.

⁸ Ibid., 42.

⁹ Ibid., 43–44; Verge, *Paradise Transformed*, 21–38.

¹⁰ Lotchin, *Bad City*, 45.

¹¹ Frederick F. Siegel, *Prince of the City: Giuliani, New York and the Genius of American Life* (San Francisco: Encounter Books, 2005), 10.

¹² For a defense of the hysteria thesis, see Merry Ovnick, *Los Angeles: The End of the Rainbow* (Los Angeles: Balcony Press, 1994), 266–67.

¹³ Lotchin, *Bad City*, 52–53.

¹⁴ Ibid., 51.

¹⁵ Ibid., *Bad City*, 52.

¹⁶ Ibid., *Bad City*, 57–59.

¹⁷ Ibid., *Bad City*, 59–60.

¹⁸ Ovnick, *Los Angeles*, 265, 273.

¹⁹ Verge, *Paradise Transformed*, 110–12; Lotchin, *Bad City*, 61.

²⁰ Greg Hise, *Magnetic Los Angeles: Planning the Twentieth Century Metropolis* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), 117–52.

²¹ L.A. officials were angry that the government did not use their port even more fully, up to its capacity. Subcommittee of the Committee on Naval Affairs, House of Representatives, 78th Congress, 1st Session, *Investigation of Congested Areas Hearings*, Part 8 Los Angeles–Long Beach, Calif. Area (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1944), 1874–83; Lotchin, *Bad City*, 62–63.

²² Norris Hundley, *The Great Thirst: Californians and Water, 1770s–1990s* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1992), 119–200; Sarah S. Elkind, *Bay Cities and Water Politics: The Battle for Resources in Boston and Oakland* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 42–172).

- ²³ Captain James W. Hamilton and First Lieutenant William J. Bolce, *Gateway to Victory: The Wartime Story of the San Francisco Port of Embarkation* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press), 39–46; Lotchin, *Bad City*, 62–65.
- ²⁴ Lotchin, *Bad City*, 65.
- ²⁵ I. L. Kandel, *The Impact of the War Upon American Education* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1948), 84–85.
- ²⁶ Lotchin, *Bad City*, 67.
- ²⁷ *Ibid.*, 214–21; Ovnick, *Los Angeles*, 257–61; Verge, *Paradise Transformed*, 108–10.
- ²⁸ Marilyn S. Johnson, *The Second Gold Rush: Oakland and the East Bay in World War II* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1993), 89; Lotchin, *Bad City*, 54–57, 214–21; Verge, *Paradise Transformed*, 108–10.
- ²⁹ Betty Smith, *A Tree Grows in Brooklyn* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1943), 12–13; See also David Nasaw, *Children of the City: At Work and at Play* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 88–100.
- ³⁰ Lotchin, *Bad City*, 68.
- ³¹ Paul A. C. Koistinen, *Arsenal of World War II: The Political Economy of American Warfare, 1940–1945* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2004), 54–55; Harold G. Vatter, *The U.S. Economy in World War II* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985), 16. Vatter argues less new plant was built, Koistinen more.
- ³² Lotchin, *Bad City*, 73.
- ³³ For a summary of the Japanese American experience, see Ovnick, *Los Angeles*, 262–66.
- ³⁴ Here my interpretation follows that of Stephen C. Fox, “General John DeWitt and the Proposed Internment of German and Italian Aliens during World War II,” *Pacific Historical Review* 57, no. 4 (1988): 407–38; and Beth Bailey and David Farber, *The First Strange Place: Race and Sex in World War II Hawaii* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992).
- ³⁵ There are many studies of the Japanese American experience in the camps. See, for example, Jeanne Wakatsuki Houston and James D. Houston, *Farewell to Manzanar* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1973); and Sandra Taylor, *Jewell of the Desert: Japanese Internment at Topaz* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1993). For the experience of the real European concentration camps, see Rab Bennett, *Under the Shadow of the Swastika: The Moral Dilemmas of Resistance and Collaboration in Hitler's Europe* (New York: New York University Press, 1999); Michael R. Marrus, *The Holocaust in History* (New York: Penguin Books USA, 1987); and Joseph R. Mitchell and Helen Buss Mitchell, *The Holocaust: Readings and Interpretations* (New York: McGraw-Hill/Dushkin, 2001).
- ³⁶ The term “Double V” appears frequently in the literature of World War II, but see Maureen Honey, editor, *Bitter Fruit: African American Women in World War II* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1999), 257–316.
- ³⁷ For the Chinese American story, I have relied heavily on the work of a new generation of Chinese American historians. See K. Scott Wong, *Americans First: Chinese Americans in the Second World War* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005); Judy Yung, *A Social History of Women in Chinatown* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995), 114–17; Xiaojian Zhao, “Women and Defense Industries in World War II” (PhD diss., University of California at Berkeley, 1993), throughout.
- ³⁸ Wong, *Americans First*, 193–212.
- ³⁹ Immediately following Pearl Harbor, the FBI rounded up the small number of Italian, German, and Japanese American aliens considered dangerous, and they were interned for longer or shorter periods. Mass Japanese American relocation came several months later. See Stephen Fox, *The Unknown Internment: An Oral History of the Relocation of Italian Americans during World War II* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1990).
- ⁴⁰ For a more detailed coverage of the Italo-American experience during the war see Gary R. Mormino and George Pozzetta, “Ethnics at War: Italian Americans in California during World War II,” in Roger W. Lotchin, ed., *The Way We Really Were: The Golden State in the Second Great War* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2000), 143–63; Fox, *Unknown Internment*; and various works by Gloria Ricci Lothrop: “A Shadow on the Land: The Impact of Fascism on Los Angeles Italians,” *California History* 75, no. 4 (1996–97); and Lothrop, “Unwelcome Aliens in Freedom's Land: The Impact of World War II on Italian Aliens in Southern California,” *Southern California Quarterly* 81, no. 4 (1999).
- ⁴¹ Kevin Starr, *Emballing Dreams: California in War and Peace, 1940–1950* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 121. For Mexican Americans see Albert Camarillo, *Chicanos in California: A History of Mexican*

- Americans in California (San Francisco: Boyd and Fraser Publishing Company, 1984), 65–84; Camarillo, "A Research Note on Chicano Community Leaders: The G. I. Generation," *Aztlan: Chicano Journal of Social Sciences and the Arts* 2, no. 2 (1971); Carey McWilliams, *North From Mexico: The Spanish-Speaking People of the United States* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1948); Vicki Ruiz, *Cannery Women: Cannery Lives, Mexican Women, Unionization, and the California Food Processing Industry, 1930–1950*; Eric Mosier, "The Impact of World War II on the Mexican American Community in San Diego" (master's thesis, San Diego State University, 1998); Mario T. Garcia, "Americans All: The Mexican American Generation and the Politics of Wartime Los Angeles, 1941–1945," *Social Science Quarterly* 65, no. 2 (June 1984); Rodolfo Gonzalez, "The Psycho-Historical and Socioeconomic Development of the Chicano Community in the United States," *Social Science Quarterly* 53, no. 4 (March 1973): 920–42; Fernando Penalosa, "The Changing Mexican-American in Southern California," *Sociology and Social Research* 51, no. 4 (July 1967): 405–17; and Stuart Cosgrove, "The Zoot Suit and Style Warfare," *Radical America* 18, no. 6 (1984): 39–52. There are a host of studies of blacks in wartime California. For a start, see Josh Sides, *L.A. City Limits: African American Los Angeles From the Great Depression to the Present* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2003); Albert Broussard, *Black San Francisco: The Struggle for Racial Equality in the West, 1900–1954* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1993); Shirley Ann Wilson Moore, *To Place Our Deeds: The African American Community in Richmond, California, 1910–1963* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2000); and Delores Nason McBroome, *Parallel Communities: African Americans in California's East Bay, 1850–1963* (New York: Garland Publishing Company 1993).
- ⁴² Catherine Archibald, *Wartime Shipyard: A Study in Social Disunity* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press 1947), 236. For a similar study of prejudice see Dorothy W. Baruch, *Glass House of Prejudice* (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1946).
- ⁴³ Although California historians have made much of the Zoot Suit Riots, compared to other American riots the Zoot Suit Riots were minor indeed both in property damage and human lives lost (none). The Zoot Suit Riots are seldom discussed in the context of the literature on the history of American collective violence. Historians' fascination with the Zooters and sailors remains a puzzle. For the Zoot Suits see Mauricio Mazon, *The Zoot Suit Riots, The Psychopathology of Symbolic Annihilation* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1984); and Luis Alberto Alvarez, "The Power of the Zoot: Race, Community, and Resistance in American Culture, 1940–1945." (PhD diss., University of Texas at Austin, 2001).
- ⁴⁴ For women in Los Angeles, see Ovnick, *Los Angeles*, 253–76.
- ⁴⁵ There is a staggering amount of historical literature on American women on the homefront. For a sampling, see Lotchin, *Bad City*, 74–103; and for book length treatments, see Karen Anderson, *Wartime Women: Sex Roles, Family Relations, and the Status of Women During World War II* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1981); D'Ann Campbell, *Women at War With America: Private Lives in a Patriotic Era* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984); Sherma Berger Gluck, ed., *Rosie the Riveter Revisited: Women, the War and Social Change* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1987); Sheila Tropp Lichtman, "Women at Work, 1941–1945: Wartime Employment in the San Francisco Bay Area." (PhD diss., University of California, Davis, 1981); Natalie Marie Fousekis, "Fighting for Our Children: Women's Activism and the Battle for Child Care in California, 1940–1965." (PhD diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2000); and Ruth Milkman, *Gender at Work: The Dynamics of Job Segregation by Sex during World War II* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987).
- ⁴⁶ Cynthia Enloe, "Was it a 'Good War' for Women?" *American Quarterly* 37 (1985).
- ⁴⁷ For a view that the overall expansion of the economy was not miraculous, see Vatter, *The U.S. Economy in World War II*, 22. However he does admit that the "war effort was prodigious," which occasioned "an enormous increase in the production of military goods." 19–21.
- ⁴⁸ Keith E. Eiler, *Mobilizing America: Robert P. Patterson and the War Effort, 1940–1945* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997); Paul A. C. Koistinen, *Arsenal of World War II: The Political Economy of American Warfare, 1940–1945* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2004).
- ⁴⁹ Gerald D. Nash, *World War II and the West: Reshaping the Economy* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000), 12–17; Koistinen, *Arsenal of World War II*, 341.
- ⁵⁰ Lotchin, *Bad City*, 160, 162, 167.
- ⁵¹ *Congested Areas Hearings*, Part 8, 2057–58; 1920–23; 1770–73; 1889–91; 1916–20; 1809–16; 1910–14; Lotchin, *Bad City*, 182–211.

- ⁵² Mary Kaldor, *The Baroque Arsenal* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1981), 29–34.
- ⁵³ For The Six Companies, see Mark Foster, *Henry J. Kaiser: Builder in the Modern American West* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1989); for general World War II shipbuilding, see Frederic Lane, *Ships for Victory: A History of Shipbuilding Under the U.S. Maritime Commission in World War II* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1951).
- ⁵⁴ Ovnick, *Los Angeles*, 273.
- ⁵⁵ For Hollywood at war, see Thomas Doherty, *Projections of War: Hollywood, American Culture, and World War II* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), 227–65 and throughout; and Bernard F. Dick, *The Star-Spangled Screen: The American World War II Film* (Lexington: The University of Kentucky Press, 1985). For an imaginative discussion of the impact of Hollywood and the movies on L.A. and the military personnel during the war, see Ovnick, *Los Angeles*, 253–76.
- ⁵⁶ Kandel, *Impact of the War*, 123–71; V. R. Cardozier, *Colleges and Universities in World War II* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1993).
- ⁵⁷ L.A. alone had thirty-four USO “posts.” Ovnick, *Los Angeles*, 271.
- ⁵⁸ Julia M. H. Carson, *Home Away from Home* (New York: Harper and Brothers, Publishers, 1946); Maxene Andrews and Bill Gilbert, *Over Here, Over There: The Andrews Sisters in World War II* (New York Kensington Publishing Company, 1993), 35; Ovnick, *Los Angeles*, 269.
- ⁵⁹ Vatter put the number in service at 11.4 million. Vatter, *U.S. Economy in World War II*, 19.
- ⁶⁰ Vatter, *U.S. Economy in World War II*, 19; Koistinen, *Arsenal of World War II*, 390; and Lotchin, *Bad City*, 87.
- ⁶¹ For warfare in the last 300 years, see William H. McNeill, *The Pursuit of Power: Technology, Armed Force, and Society since A.D. 1000* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1982), 117–384.
- ⁶² The term “Good War” was first popularized by Studs Terkel, *“The Good War”: An Oral History of World War II* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1984).

THE HISTORIAN'S EYE

What does an historian notice in a photo from the past?

We recognize familiar Los Angeles landmarks as we look southwest from the Plaza—the Pico House (1869–70) on the left with the entrance canopy of the former Merced Theater (1870) further down Main Street; and the tall building on the left, the Vickrey-Brunswick Building (1888). The former was once L.A.'s finest hotel; the latter housed F. W. Braun's wholesale drug business until 1907 when he sold out to L. N. Brunswick, a Frenchman.

It appears to be a late afternoon. Horse-drawn wagons and their drivers end their day of hauling goods. Silhouetted in the center are a Chinese man and two children in native attire. Chinatown then occupied the east side of the Plaza. The photo raises the questions: to whom does the history of the plaza belong, and how should its history be commemorated?

Historic photos such as this one, first brought to my attention almost a decade ago by Suellen Cheng, curator of El Pueblo de Los Angeles Historical Monument, are one way to remind us of the complexity of the past—the Plaza as a multi-ethnic space and work place. The Plaza is celebrated in books, too—most recently in *El Pueblo: The Historic Heart of Los Angeles* by Jean Bruce Poole and Tevvy Ball (Getty, 2002), to which I am here indebted.

The preservation of historic sites is another way to ensure continuity between time and space. The Plaza Firehouse (1884), the 1818 Avila Adobe, and the Sepúlveda boarding house (1887) have been restored, along with the exteriors of the Pico House and the Merced Theater. The Vickrey-Brunswick building is next in line. Owned by the County of Los Angeles, vacant for many years and fire-damaged, it is the site selected for a Latino Plaza de Cultura y Artes, a vision championed by County Supervisor Gloria Molina. A new structure was designed to replace the Vickrey-Brunswick. But the Los Angeles Conservancy and Las Angelitas del Pueblo won an arduous advocacy battle for its preservation. As in the 1890s, it will partner with the Pico House as the two tall gate posts welcoming our diverse population to connect with the city's past.



Los Angeles Plaza, 1890s.
Courtesy El Pueblo de Los Angeles Historical Monument



Book Reviews

INTRODUCTION TO PLANT LIFE OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA: *Coast to Foothills*. By Philip W. Rundel and Robert Gustafson. (University of California Press, 2005. 316 pp. \$18.95.) Reviewed by Robert D. Montoya.

This is a great addition to the "California Natural History Guides" series published by the University of California Press. In 2003, when the revised *Introduction to California Plant Life* was published, it seemed clear that there was a need to provide a more succinct and specific introductory work based solely on the Southern California area. Indeed, Rundel and Gustafson provide a thoughtful reasoning for this: "Four of the ten counties with the largest number of rare and endangered plant and animal species in the continental United States are in Southern California, including Los Angeles, Santa Barbara, San Diego, and San Bernardino Counties" (p. 276). With the southern portion of California as defined in the book, "south of Point Conception to the Mexican Border" (p. 2), comprising less than one-third of the state's land mass, this concentrated ecological diversity is truly remarkable and is a testament to the need for more careful regional scholarly study.

Introduction to Plant Life of Southern California is broken into twelve different sections, eight of which specifically discuss the major habitats that dominate this southern landscape: coastal habitats, sage scrub, chaparral, woodlands, grasslands, riparian woodlands, wetlands, and the Channel Islands. The other chapters address specific issues affecting the aforementioned zones such as the biogeography of Southern California, chaparral and fire, invasive alien species, and the need to preserve biodiversity. Rundel and Gustafson have written a clear and organized text that is widely accessible to a variety of readers. Each of these chapters begins with a brief description of each habitat as well as the sub-communities that thrive alongside them. Seamlessly the authors take you through the most common plants that thrive within each area and how certain adaptations have allowed them to thrive (or retreat) within their conditions. Pampas grass and other perennial grasses are prime examples of species that have "escaped from cultivation and colonized large expanses of the coastal bluffs of Southern California" (p. 272).

The clarity and accessibility of the text allows a wide variety of enthusiasts—from botanists and hikers to general readers—a clear survey of the Southern California landscape. As such, the book serves as a conduit to easily bridge the knowledge gained from this text to more advanced, specific studies of the region. With each species mentioned in their discussion, the authors provide information such as the months each plant is in bloom and Latin names as used in *The Jepson Manual*, which—

with the lack of common-name consistency at times within botanical texts—is definitely helpful. Almost every species discussed is accompanied by a photograph, usually of its flower or fruit. This is useful, as it makes the book a beginner's field guide as well (the small size of the book, I found, also makes it portable on hikes in the area).

As good texts do when introducing a subject to readers, *Introduction to Plant Life of Southern California* illuminates the histories and pleasures that the study of local biodiversity can offer. Oftentimes, the authors will note specific uses—especially by Native Americans—of botanical species for medicinal purposes, such as yerba santa's "curative powers for respiratory infections, fevers, and sores" in its tea form (p. 40). At times, the authors explain name derivations and the brief history of a certain plant's arrival in Southern California.

In addition to the history of local plants within human culture, Rundel and Gustafson also show the delicate and specific role each plant species can play within its larger bio-geographic habitat. The authors, for example, draw attention to the nitrogen-fixing ability of ceanothus and deerweed within the chaparral and place it within a broader human context: "[Deerweed's] foliage is high in protein and thus desirable forage for a variety of animal species, including deer. The Native Americans recognized this and used fire widely to increase favored browse for deer and other game animals." (p. 132). Pickleweed, a succulent found within salt marshes, is illustrated as an example by which certain species adapt to harsh, saline conditions. Increasing salt content in the Pickleweed species is diverted to special vacuoles, which keeps the salt away from vital metabolic cellular structures. This increased accumulation of salt gives the "succulent" appearance to many plants within the salt-marsh environment.

The chapter that truly makes *Introduction to Plant Life of Southern California* an excellent text is the inclusion of the Channel Islands as a bio-specific area in its own right. The islands' proximity to continental Southern California has made for some alterations to typical species found on the mainland. The authors indicate, "There is a strong tendency for gigantism in both the growth form and leaf size of the woody plants native to the Channel Islands" (p. 247). Chaparral plants grow much taller than those on the mainland of Southern California, "with typical canopy heights of six to 12 feet" (p. 252). The Channel Islands' climate is a maritime one but varies greatly from island to island in rainfall, soil quality, and the presence of fog. Certain species—such as the Catalina Ironwood—were once present on the mainland, as gathered from fossil records, but now only reside in disparate parts of the islands' habitat.

Woven throughout the text is the extent to which humans have had an impact on the local biome. The authors note, "whether we measure biodiversity by numbers of plant and animal species present or by conservation significance . . . coastal

Southern California rates higher than any other part of California" (p. 7). With such a wide range of species within such a compact space as the Southland, human encroachment on wild space proves devastating to the ecological balance. The authors also note the higher rates of seasonal fires, the fragmentation of delicate plant communities, as well as the near depletion of our region's vernal pools as human density has increased in the area. *Introduction to Plant Life of Southern California* includes a short chapter noting how the influx of non-native species has drastically changed the shape of our landscape. Since the advent of irrigation methods in the area, new imported species demand special care for their survival. Although, as is often found with species that are imported from Mediterranean areas, some can adapt well to our climate and overtake our native species, as pampas grass and castor bean species have done.

One of the most useful sections of the book is the "Where to Experience Southern California Plant Communities" table found before the index. This appendix helpfully summarizes details about the Southern California landscape such as which habitats are thriving, which are rare or near extinction, as well as which areas harbor specific types of plant life.

This is an excellent text worthy of several readings. My only hope is that similar introductory texts are written for each habitat within the Southern California region. There is much information to cover as only 10 percent of existing local plant life is covered in *Introduction to Plant Life of Southern California*. There is thus a vast trough from which to produce many more attractive, user-friendly books to add to the "California Natural History Guides" collection.

Robert Montoya is on staff at the Historical Society of Southern California where he coordinates the membership, marketing, publications, and academic programs.

MISSIONS AND THE FRONTIERS OF SPANISH AMERICA: A Comparative Study of the Impact of Environmental, Economic, Political, and Socio-Cultural Variations on the Missions in the Rio de la Plata Region and on the Northern Frontier of New Spain. By Robert H. Jackson, PhD. (Scottsdale, Arizona: Pentacle Press, 2005. 592 pp. \$44.95.) Reviewed by Patricia Juarez-Dappe.

Missions, one of the most important colonial institutions in Spanish America, have attracted the interest of scholars for many years. During the last decades, mission studies have shifted away from Eurocentric chronological accounts that focus on the roles of missionaries, to more balanced works that emphasize the social and

economic organization of missions as well as their impact on native populations. In this formidable work of encyclopedic scope, Dr. Robert H. Jackson, a leading scholar with extensive experience in mission studies, adds to this new scholarship. The author skillfully synthesizes his major expertise on the topic and the current literature on new mission history thus providing a work that will engage a wide audience ranging from scholars to teachers to non-specialists in general.

Missions and the Frontiers of Spanish America is an analysis of missions in the northern Mexican frontier and Rio de la Plata regions. The work examines social, cultural, demographic, environmental, and economic aspects of Franciscan, Dominican, and Jesuit missions in dissimilar areas thus providing a laboratory for comparative analysis of the mission phenomenon. In this study, the author uncovers how disparate environments and dissimilar socio-cultural organizations resulted in modifications to missionaries' plans thus leading to rather different and unanticipated outcomes of mission programs. The study underscores the diversity, multiplicity, and complexity of missions as well as their populations in various areas of Spanish America.

The book's seven chapters cover multiple topics illustrated with specific case studies to facilitate the comparative approach. After an examination of the origins and features of California missions, the study explores interactions between missions and the larger colonial world. Rather than examining missions in isolation, this chapter presents them as an important component of the larger colonial world. Missions interacted with settlers, merchants, officials, and soldiers in different fashions. Both competition and a symbiotic relationship developed as a result of this coexistence. The author's analysis is illustrated with examples from several missions such as the Jesuit establishments in Paraguay and the missions in Sonora. The reorganization of native communities and the maintenance of an orderly society were central to the goals pursued by the missionaries. Housing and building construction occupied a paramount role in this sense. Chapter three examines mission complexes as a means to uncover missionaries' measures of social control to achieve their ideal definitions of society. To realize this ideal society, missionaries attempted to reshape natives' social and cultural patterns. Chapter four focuses on the missionaries' programs of social and cultural engineering as well as on natives' responses to those programs. Missions became contested terrains in which the acceptance of a new order was never complete and always challenged through a variety of strategies ranging from passive forms to violent uprisings. Besides social and cultural changes, native populations experienced important demographic changes, which is the subject of chapter five. The examination of demographic patterns clearly reveals two different trends. Whereas California and Texas were characterized by population collapse, the missions in Paraguay experienced more stability and even growth. Several factors such as settlement patterns, size of mission population, and the resilience of natives' social and cultural patterns account for the difference. This chapter also includes an insight-

ful comparative analysis of mission demographics with that of military colonial frontier populations. The demise of the mission, however, did not result from demographic decline but from political decisions. This is the topic of the book's following chapter. In a very succinct manner, chapter six addresses the decline of the missions in Paraguay and northern Mexico stressing the role of political events in both areas. The last chapter summarizes the findings of the study and offers some final thoughts on the role and legacy of missions in the Rio de la Plata region and the north Mexican frontier. According to the author, although not always a peaceful process, mission programs "profoundly changed the lives of the native neophytes in both positive and negative ways, and paved the way for new patterns of development in both regions."

For this comparative analysis, Dr. Robert H. Jackson has combined quantitative analysis with the careful examination of more impressionistic sources. Aware of the limitations inherent in the use of a single type of source, the author has made extensive use of a variety of sources and different methodologies of analysis. The author has examined missions' records of baptisms, marriages, and burials as well as censuses, inventories, letters, and official and private reports, just to name a few. The study is also informed by the extensive secondary literature on missions. The book is enriched with tables, photographs, illustrations, and a large collection of maps. Two detailed appendixes provide a wealth of additional information on building construction and demographic patterns in the missions. Finally, a CD supplement includes high-definition images and additional information on the missions and regions covered by the study. This work is notable both in terms of the time frame covered and the range of topics examined. The study contains an impressive amount of information and detail. At times, excessive emphasis on details diverts the attention from the broader picture. However, the author has overcome this drawback by including appropriate conclusions to each section that not only provide a needed summary of the topic under examination but also place the analysis into a larger context.

This book represents an important addition to the literature on missions in Latin America with its comprehensive study of missions in California and Rio de la Plata. By presenting a comparative approach, the study contributes to our understanding of the complexities and nuances of the mission and will be useful to a wide range of specialists and non-specialists interested in Latin American and US history.

Patricia Juarez-Dappe received her PhD from the University of California, Los Angeles in 2002 and is assistant professor of Latin American history in the History Department at California State University, Northridge.

INDIANS, MISSIONARIES, AND MERCHANTS: *The Legacy of Colonial Encounters on the California Frontiers*. By Kent G. Lightfoot. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2005. 355 pp. \$45.00.) Reviewed by Steven M. Karr.

Beginning in 1769 and through the early 1820s Franciscans established, with varying degrees of prosperity, twenty-one missions throughout much of coastal Alta California, from San Diego in the south to Sonoma in the north. The cornerstone of each mission was its labor pool, forcibly drawn from the many indigenous groups who traditionally occupied the lands where the Spanish institutions were founded. There, Indians were taught European-style agriculture, animal husbandry, and crafts, as well as the tenets of Catholicism. More importantly, though, the missions also acted as a means for altering Indians' traditional life-ways concerning such aspects as subsistence practices, dress, kinship structure, and spirituality. Despite the oppressive, often brutal circumstances missions represented for Native peoples, Indians maintained their cultures and identities.

Another of Alta California's colonial institutions was the Russian mercantile colony. Contemporary to the Spanish missions for little more than a decade, these outposts nevertheless represented an alternative colonial encounter for Native peoples who inhabited the northwest reaches of the greater San Francisco Bay. Like the Spanish missions, Russian mercantile outposts were established to exploit both natural and human resources. In contrast to the missions, though, the businessmen who managed these outposts placed little emphasis on Indian acculturation. Consequently, Alta California's two colonial institutions, in effect, influenced two distinct historic and cultural paths walked by certain Native Californians.

According to University of California, Berkeley Professor of Archaeology, Kent Lightfoot, the current status of the state's tribes (specifically whether or not they are federally recognized), can be explained through a detailed look at distinct Native histories influenced by these two colonial institutions and the interaction Indians later experienced with anthropologists and government agents. The author further argues that his use of multidisciplinary sources (i.e., archaeology, ethnohistory, ethnography, native texts) not only questions and evaluates traditional historical scenarios but also brings new insights into California's colonial experience.

With lofty ambitions, this study raises several important issues that warrant further discussion. From a historical perspective, the author correctly reminds the reader that scholars have typically characterized Russian-Indian relations as relatively innocuous when compared to circumstances between Indians and Franciscans. Clearly Indian-Russian relationships were far more complex, one example being the Ross Colony's changing commercial agenda during the 1820s from hunting to agriculture. Here, circumstances were conspicuously similar to those of the missions as the Russians, through force, increasingly exploited local Indian groups as a source

of cheap labor, in some respects relying just as heavily upon a highly structured colonial hierarchy as the Spanish. Correct, too, is Lightfoot's view that anthropologists underestimated the effects of early European contact on California's Indian societies, and that the "memory culture" methodology employed by Berkeley anthropologist Alfred Kroeber, along with his students and colleagues, really tells us more about the cultural interpretations of a single generation of Indian informants than it does the whole of the pre-contact past.

Some assertions the author makes, however, while certainly plausible, are based upon a synthesis of previously published sources, indicating the lack of any first-hand field work, either ethnographic, archaeological, or archival, in Southern California. This indicates one of the book's most critical shortcomings—the absence of any Indian accounts today from the areas studied. Surely Indian peoples have their own interpretations as to why their communities do or do not have federal recognition. This is particularly the case for Indians in Southern California where there are state-recognized Luiseño and Juaneño groups, descendants of Indian communities whose land base remained intact, in one instance, into the 1930s. Further, are we to assume that like Native peoples from previous eras, Indians today are too far removed from the cultural conditions the book seeks to identify, and as a result represent unreliable sources?

Additionally, because of the author's strong reliance upon secondary sources, some comments about the field's prevailing literature require comment. In chapter four, "Native Agency in the Franciscan Missions," Lightfoot states that one of his major findings is that "there is a tendency among contemporary scholars to view the neophytes as broken, despondent, and spiritless people" (p. 112). If this is in fact the case, to which contemporary studies is the author referring? A review of relevant literature dating back as many as thirty years is certain to reveal discussions of Indian resistance to Franciscan acculturation. This idea of resistance or Indian "agency," a term Lightfoot himself employs, has dominated the literature for the past decade, yielding few references to broken or despondent Indians.

In his conclusion, the author remarks that he had been content to focus his research on a single colonial program—Colony Ross. In order to address the broader concerns of federal Indian recognition in California, though, Lightfoot determined a comparative analysis of Franciscan missions was needed. This is no small undertaking—one he himself admits was at times overwhelming. The question this reviewer must ask, then, is: was this too ambitious a study? Any comparative analysis of Colony Ross and Franciscan missions from such a broad geographic area, arguably, undermines the belief that California's Native colonial encounters were unique, yielding distinct responses, more so than any ubiquitous circumstance that may have revealed itself in every mission community. And while government agents and anthropologists certainly were factors in how some Indian groups came to be federally recognized, localized events, particularly those concerning Indians,

rancheros, Anglo-American ranchers, and eventually homesteaders, may have played as significant a role.

These detractions aside, the author has firmly established his expertise concerning Colony Ross and the region's indigenous peoples. His work also reminds us that California's mission experience did not represent the region's single colonial encounter. Instead, we know that Russian mercantile colonies, not nearly as benign a presence as previously indicated, deeply impacted the lives of Native peoples. Further, Russian settlement patterns, economic interests, methods for exploiting Indian labor, social hierarchy, as well as other contributing circumstances, influenced how Indian agents and academics later understood Native communities. When compared with the experiences of other Indian groups impacted by the Spanish mission system, this study helps us to better understand, perhaps, the current status of some Indian tribes in California.

Steven M. Karr is curator at the Southwest Museum of the American Indian, Autry National Center.

SUNSET LIMITED: *The Southern Pacific and the Development of the American West, 1850–1930.* By Richard Orsi. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2005. 615 pp. \$29.95.) Reviewed by William Deverell.

This is a book long in the making, and it is most assuredly worth the wait. No one knows the ins and outs of the history of the Southern Pacific Railroad better than historian Richard Orsi, and we are all the beneficiaries of that vast knowledge in this work. Superbly researched and written in clear and concise prose, *Sunset Limited* is the finest book ever written on the history of the American West's most important railroad network.

The book opens with Orsi likening the Southern Pacific rail system to a great river. Like a vast riparian watershed, the Southern Pacific was made up of tributary lines, small feeder railroads, even the occasional dry stream of a rail line that had gone out of business for one reason or another. The metaphor is an apt one, as it helps to describe, especially in visual terms, what constituted the railroad corporation as an integrated system. But the imagery does have its limitations, something Orsi well understands. For one, this was a river like no other. Gargantuan in scope and spread, the Southern Pacific overwhelmed natural obstacles and dictates, precisely because the corporate and technological ambitions of those in charge demanded that it do so. The Southern Pacific was a river only in visual configuration and metaphor; everything else about it was something else entirely.

At once a corporate expression, a technological marvel, a transportation revolution, a massive conglomeration of labor and capital, and the whim of ruthless businessmen, not to mention the symbol of an age, the nineteenth-century railroad was many things and many expressions simultaneously. And the Southern Pacific was, at least in the American West, *the* railroad among railroads, every bit as complex as any in the land. Orsi's book parses these many expressions of what the railroad was and it does so extremely well.

There is little subtlety in most works that tackle the meaning of the Southern Pacific Railroad. Historians and pundits from the nineteenth century forward have usually gravitated to one camp to describe the railroad's impact and legacy. Taking Progressive and earlier Populist rhetoric at face value, many writers have parroted the "Southern Pacific as Octopus" claims without allowing any room for more complex, if not more nuanced, assessments. Orsi's book is the corrective to all this. He fully understands the overwhelming complexity of the railroad as a multifaceted entity on the western landscape.

The volume is divided into parts that reveal the author's major purposes in writing the book. An opening section is largely introductory. The giant Southern Pacific, the holding company that devoured other railroads large and small, grew from the acorn Central Pacific, the western half of the great transcontinental rail project of the Civil War. Orsi's overview of the growth of the West and western railroading, as well as the portraits he draws of the men who built, sustained, and were made rich by, the Southern Pacific, is thorough and insightful.

But what Orsi especially wants to show in this book are the ways in which the Southern Pacific, especially in its corporate expression, forever changed the Far West and, perhaps especially, the far western landscape. Charting a very different path from previous scholars, whose preoccupations centered on railroad politics, Orsi moves fairly quickly into the body of the book. Divided into parts that address land, water, agriculture, and conservation, the major sections of the book introduce readers to a somewhat unfamiliar railroad. Although Orsi has published some of this work before, the extent of his research, and the contributions it makes, has not been fully realized until this book's publication.

Orsi does not argue against the so-called "Octopus school" of railroad history. He is not naïve to the ruthlessness of the railroad titans that ran the Southern Pacific; as he correctly points out in his preface to the volume, this is not a book that converts the Southern Pacific "from an all-evil into an all-public-spirited entity." Nor does he minimize the power that could be wielded by a corporation that quickly became first among the nation's largest private employers and landholders. But he does wish to round out the railroad record, and, given the scale of his research, he has built an effective foundation from which to do so. Presumptions about the Southern Pacific's ability to act without any countervailing forces are dispensed with in

this book, as they should be. Deeply enmeshed in the political economy of the West and rendered dependent upon certain facets of that realm, the Southern Pacific of *Sunset Limited* is undoubtedly powerful but decidedly not all powerful.

It is through these sections that meld environmental and business history that Orsi makes his strongest points. And he does so in part by doing something that no previous historian of the Southern Pacific has done, or certainly not to the level accomplished by Orsi. By paying attention to mid-level Southern Pacific employees, the managerial roster, Orsi presents us a much richer view of the corporation than the usual "Big Four" kind of treatment. This is not to minimize the role of a figure like Collis P. Huntington; Orsi well understands the role of such men of the era. It is, however, refreshing and historically appropriate to learn something about the long tenure of railroad employees who earned their salaries in paychecks rather than kings' ransoms.

Through this prism, Orsi sees a different railroad corporation or, to be more accurate, a different side to the story of the Southern Pacific. This Southern Pacific is a corporation that worked hard to accommodate small farmers in the establishment of western agriculture, divested itself of farming lands (rather than accruing them monopolistically), and never owned the vast acreage that critics—and historians—have alleged over the years. Orsi makes a persuasive case, made all the more so by his careful analysis of the railroad's promotional and advertising efforts. While stopping well short of Populist tendencies and obviously eschewing any hint of class divisions, the Southern Pacific did nonetheless help market and promote the products grown by its farming customer base—most likely more so than any other single entity. Chalk it up to corporate shrewdness or attention to the bottom line, but the fact remains that the railroad helped, in a major fashion, to usher in a mature era of western agriculture in more ways than the establishment of simple transport arteries.

Even more interesting is Orsi's extended discussion, which runs through several overlapping chapters, of the railroad corporation's interest in scientific agriculture, irrigation, and conservation. Here is the very heart of the book. The Southern Pacific an enlightened corporate citizen? Yes, Orsi argues, and he does so with compelling evidence. Railroad managers from various units of the corporation played highly significant roles through the latter nineteenth and well into the twentieth century as promoters of, among other things, reclamation and irrigation in favor of small farmers, first-rate agricultural research, and the preservation of sublime western landscapes, Yosemite among them. Largely unsung until now, these railroad employees act in Orsi's book as foils to the characterization of their employer as the unmitigated big bad wolf of western American history.

Praising this book as a corrective to a single-dimensional view of the Southern Pacific Railroad is far too mild. Calling it a magisterial corrective is more to the point.

William Deverell is professor of history at the University of Southern California and director of the Huntington-USC Institute on California and the West.

SELLING THE CITY: *Gender, Class, and the California Growth Machine, 1880–1940*. By Lee M. A. Simpson (Stanford University Press, 2004. 209 pp. \$49.50.) Reviewed by Carolyn Brucken.

*Boost your city, boost your friend;
Boost the lodge that you attend,
Boost the street on which you're dwelling
Boost the goods that you are selling.*

Thus begins a poem that appeared in 1923 in the *Business Women's Herald*, published by the Oakland Business and Professional Women's Club. Such enterprising women appear throughout Lee Simpson's *Selling the City*, which provides a detailed look at women entrepreneurs and investors who marketed the California dream in fierce inter-city competition for residents and investors.

Simpson traces the transformation of middle-class and elite women's use of moral-improvement rhetoric to a more pragmatic language of investment and capitalism and, by 1910, city planning. The chapters' chronological layout shows the evolution of women's involvement in urban growth, first as property owners and boosters, then as members of women's clubs, local chambers of commerce, and city planning commissions. In her final chapter, Simpson provides a case study of Pearl Chase and her influence on Santa Barbara's controlled development. A chapter on late nineteenth-century women's clubs will perhaps be the most familiar to readers, but Simpson moves us onto new ground by drawing our attention to the important role of club work in developing women's economic capital through apprenticeships in property ownership and management that integrated women into city-growth machines. In making their cities cleaner, safer, and their citizens better educated, property-owning women, Simpson argues, invested in their cities' ability to attract new residents and tourists. Sometimes these goals were overt, as in the case of clubwomen's Ruth Eddy Sargent's 1925 winning essay "Publicity Problems of a Small California Community." Responding to a competition sponsored by the Redlands Realty Board, Sargent argued for the equal importance of quality-of-life issues to industry in marketing Redlands and asked, "Why not mix some of these human values with citrus culture and real estate in our advertising?" (p. 62).

Acknowledging her debt to Harvey Molotch's sociological model of city-as-growth-machine thesis, Simpson adds new depth by showing women's unique role in the planning and marketing of growth strategies in second-tier cities such as Redlands, Santa Barbara, Riverside, and Oakland. What moves *Selling the City* beyond a reevaluation of past models is her extensive and innovative archival research. Historians of women's history have often pioneered the use of new or overlooked sources in their efforts to reclaim women's voices from the past, and Simpson is no exception. The book offers fascinating glimpses of the letters written by women to western chambers of commerce inquiring about local business prospects, women's booster literature in city newspapers, and women's petitions to city governments.

Questions tantalizingly left unanswered include the actual prevalence of women's property ownership, the negative impact of city-growth machines and planning commissions on working-class women, and the differences or similarities between the Anglo women Simpson describes and Hispanic and African American club and businesswomen who were active in California during the same time period. Simpson's study never leaves the borders of California, yet its usefulness extends to a larger western story. I'm sure other readers, like myself, will find themselves making connections to other entrepreneurial women in different western cities: Anne Evans, the daughter of territorial governor and railroad magnate John Evans, who, as vice president of the Evans Investment Company and as a member of the Denver Planning Board and Denver Art Commission, guided Denver's "City Beautiful" movement in the first decades of the twentieth century; Amelia Elizabeth White, philanthropist and president of the De Vargas Development Company who used her vast real estate holdings to control and shape Santa Fe's development in the 1920s and 1930s; or Bertha Knight Landes, the elected mayor of Seattle in 1926 who was backed by both women's clubs and the business community in her campaign to expand the city's growth. Like the California women described in Simpson's book, all three of these women followed similar paths through apprenticeships, club work, and participation in city-growth machines. Simpson's research lays the groundwork for thinking about women in other western states not as anomalies or exceptions, as so often portrayed, but as equal strategists in western economic growth. Her research offers a starting model for visualizing western women's significant impact on the economies and growth of cities throughout the West.

Carolyn Brucken is assistant curator for Western Women's History at the Autry National Center where she is currently overseeing the exhibition "Home Lands: How Women Made the West." She received her PhD in American Civilization from George Washington University. She has taught at Miami University and California State University, Fullerton and worked at the Museum of Tolerance (Los Angeles) and Center for Legislative Archives, National Archives (Washington DC).

MUSICAL METROPOLIS: *Los Angeles and the Creation of a Music Culture, 1880–1940.* By Kenneth H. Marcus. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004. 264 pp. \$22.95.) Reviewed by Marina Peterson.

Musical Metropolis explores the history of musical culture in Los Angeles during the period of the city's growth into a major metropolis. Music was a central aspect of that transformation and Los Angeles was an exceptional site for the negotiation of social, political and economic issues. The tropes of diversity and decentralization—

which the "L.A. School" (Dear 2000; Soja 1989) solidified as the definitive lenses through which to view the city—serve as Marcus' framework for how music reflected and helped make the city and its citizens.

Musical Metropolis shows how music was both affected by, and a contributor to, the city's decentralization. The decentralization of musical culture in Los Angeles included the fact that music schools were located in neighborhoods around downtown such as Boyle Heights and South Central; public schools, spread throughout the city, implemented music education and benefited from Los Angeles Philharmonic outreach programs; the Hollywood Bowl was miles away from the city center; and pageants that presented California's Native American, Mexican, and Spanish past were performed around the region. The social, political and economic conditions for the decentralization of musical culture included restrictive housing policies and school segregation, producing a racial geography of the city that was reflected in and produced by the demographics of music schools, performance venues, and recordings, such as the "race records" that came out of the Central Avenue jazz scene. While a musical mapping of ethnic dispersal and segregation was something shared with other cities, Los Angeles' unique decentralized spatiality resides in the extreme decline of its downtown and its immense geographic size.

Even as the author emphasizes decentralization, the material of *Musical Metropolis* also describes other geographies of Los Angeles, including the role of music in creating a geography of centrality. Chapters one and two in particular reflect a strong downtown that served as the proper site where theaters, opera houses, and major music schools should be located in order to create the desired civic culture of the city. Creating this civic culture also helped make Los Angeles a "civilized city" (p. 11) and a recognized cultural center in the United States and the world. Mass mediums of radio, film, and cartoons built on these aspirations in new ways, bringing Los Angeles (via Hollywood) to the nation by giving "every small town in America" its own orchestra in the form of soundtracks (p. 189) and exporting a consumable American culture to the world (p. 185).

While much of the diversity discussed in *Musical Metropolis* was inflected by the racialized geography, Marcus' account of the role of women as teachers and professional musicians (Los Angeles had the first women's symphony) and youth musical education in public schools and specialized music schools paint a picture of the broad social reach of music in Los Angeles. Lengthy discussions of the musicians' unions indicate how music was also a form of labor, one that was initially segregated and that later came to be a strong force in shaping the direction of the film and recording industries.

In general, however, assertions about the presence of musical diversity depend on a correlation between musical genre and identity. Concluding the existence of racial or ethnic diversity from genre diversity, while often seemingly straightforward in terms of musical production, also begs a critical examination of the categories of

analysis. In cases such as Lummis' recordings of Native American songs (chapter five) and the pageantry of The Mexican Players, it is clear that non-European musical forms were being recorded and performed. Nevertheless, these examples, which overlap with Princess Tsianina's performances at the Hollywood Bowl, the mythologized performance of California's past in the Mission Play and the Ramona Pageant, and vaudeville in early downtown theaters, also raise questions about the conditions for stylized performances of ethnicity in relation to performers and audiences. What kinds of motivations and interests did Native American and Mexican artists have to perform "traditional" songs and dances for these audiences? Were such performances largely a kind of ethnic tourism in which Anglo audiences voyeuristically consumed cultural difference? In what ways and to what extent were these artists "bound by recognition," as described by Markell Patchen? (Patchen 2003).

The performance and consumption of European classical music, a genre discussed throughout the book, provides a complicated ground for describing and defining social diversity through music. At one time a means of making Los Angeles a cultural center through opera houses and its own symphony orchestra, European classical music was also learned in public schools, played for the children of the city by the Los Angeles Philharmonic, and broadcast on the radio. While Marcus describes such practices as an example of the "sacralization" or popularization of European classical music, he necessarily draws a priori lines of "high art" and "popular art" onto genre, demographics, and distribution mediums that do not seem to always reflect the complex conditions of the material. This divide runs through the book and is discussed in terms of downtown theaters, musical education, Los Angeles Philharmonic outreach programs, pageants, the Hollywood Bowl, radio, film music, and cartoons. Radio is a particularly complex space and an unprecedented mass medium; audience surveys conducted by a local radio station evidenced a primarily middle-class listenership. Given this, did broadcasting the Los Angeles Philharmonic concerts after *Amos 'n' Andy* reflect a general bourgeois popularity of European classical music that put it in an equivalent space to comedic shows, an elevating mission for a purportedly less sophisticated general audience, or a marker of distinct radio publics who chose discriminately from the various programming options? The rich material of this book and accompanying CD of musical examples that enables us to hear as well as read this history allows us to ask such questions.

Music in the decades preceding and following turn-of-the-century Los Angeles was, as now, a medium onto which aspirations for a better city could be projected and through which they could attempt to be realized. As Marcus concludes, "If one wanted to break down the barriers of race and expressive culture that remained in place during the first half of the twentieth century, one means of doing so was in the field of music" (p. 194). Asking why and how music is both an exemplary and exceptional catalyst for these wider urban processes, helping shape the city and its citizens, is a door Marcus has opened, laying the foundation for what promises to be a rich field of further inquiry and investigation.

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ORANGE EMPIRE: *California and the Fruits of Eden*. By Douglas Cazaux Sackman. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2005. 401 pp. \$41.00.) Reviewed by Matt Garcia.

Students of my Los Angeles history class often have the most difficult time shaking the notion of L.A. ever being anything but the chic playpen of Hollywood's rich and famous or a sprawling, smog-laden metropolis defined by bumper-to-bumper traffic on one of the many Southland freeways. How, with Los Angeles Lakers' guru/coach Phil Jackson famously chiding Sacramento as a "cow town" in contrast to the urbane L.A., can students in places like Illinois, Oregon, or Rhode Island think differently? It usually, therefore, comes as a surprise to them when they discover that, before World War II, Greater Los Angeles and the entire Southern California region was the richest agricultural land in the nation. Among the fruits and vegetables produced in the Southland, citrus towered over all other crops. Indeed, by 1930, citrus growers in five Southern California counties—Los Angeles, Orange, Riverside, San Bernardino, and Ventura—grossed \$144.6 million. In comparison, combined wages in movies, oil, and aircraft totaled \$196 million. As Douglas Cazaux Sackman demonstrates in his new book, citrus growers' wealth and power constituted an empire whose influence affected state, national, and international politics and dramatically shaped the culture of the Golden State.

Although many have taken their shot at telling the story of this agrarian dream-cum-agricultural industry, Sackman does it with more poetic flair and a sharper focus on the personalities that gave the struggle between labor and capital in California its dramatic quality. Weighing in on the side of the citrus industry are figures such as Luther Burbank, George Pigeon Clements, and especially Charles C. Teague, whose efforts, in various ways, sought to impose total control over the production and dis-

tribution of citrus and maintain an image of California as a Garden of Eden. On the other side, Dorothea Lange, Paul Taylor, Carey McWilliams, John Steinbeck, and Sinclair Lewis struggled mightily to reveal the exploitive conditions on citrus farms through the power of the pen, the camera, and the media. While Sackman's sympathies clearly run towards the latter group whom he labels the "agrarian partisans," he skillfully avoids painting the former as complete liars and frauds who misrepresented and misappropriated the beauty and the bounty of the state, especially its southern portions. In Sackman's telling, these two groups share in the idea of California as a place of natural advantages capable of producing a cornucopia of fruits and vegetables.

Sackman divides his book into three parts, with the first and the third being the richer and most innovative sections. Section one, "Fabricating Eden" is distinguished by his attention to the hybridizing magic of botanist Luther Burbank. Sackman demonstrates how Burbank's inventions helped improve the quality of the fruit and contributed to the belief that selective breeding could "improve" the human race. Although Burbank achieved great fame, Sackman demonstrates that neither he nor the many scientists who tried to imitate him ever achieved the control over nature that they had hoped for. The more they tried, the more nature "reminded growers and scientists that citrus trees had not become mere machines" (p. 72).

Enormous profits and the self-fulfilling prophecies pitched by Sunkist's advertising executives, boosters, and growers erased any suggestion of failure, and, more importantly, hid the less-than-ideal conditions under which some workers toiled. As workers and critics rose up to question labor practices, especially during the Depression, industry leaders answered this challenge in a fashion similar to that of scientists dealing with insects, disease, and other environmental threats to the fruit: eradication. Sackman provides an engaging account of the creation of The Associated Farmers, an organization that sought to eliminate—by force if necessary—challenges to the employment practices of citrus growers. The Associated Farmers essentially took citrus to the dark side, setting up Sackman's fascinating final section, "Reclaiming Eden," in which artists-activists attempt to restore the balance between humans and nature. As with Burbank, Sackman points out the contradictions and shortcomings among these agrarian partisans, especially John Steinbeck, who struggled with representing workers as close-to-nature, salt-of-the-earth types without making them appear anti-modern dullards. In the end, the agrarian partisans succeed in shifting government and public sympathies towards the defense of white workers. These moral victories mattered little in a racist society that turned away from the battle during World War II when growers imposed their exploitative labor practices on Mexican contract workers under the Bracero Program.

Sackman succeeds in capturing the intense social drama played out in California from the Progressive Era through the Depression and provides rich analysis of individuals whose creative work continues to shape our knowledge of this period

and place. He also provides interesting criticism of historians who give primacy to an interpretation of economic structures, agricultural ecology, and immovable racial hierarchies over an understanding of workers' agency. Ironically and unintentionally, however, Sackman's attention to big personalities and famous texts overshadows the voices and actions of common workers. The mid-section of the book "Work in the Garden," intended to be a correction to the approaches he criticizes, functions more as a transition from the creation of the industry and the exploitation of nature and labor to the literary and political challenges undertaken by white artists and activists. Although he asserts that California's immigrants had their own versions of the "agrarian dream," we receive a far too brief (and familiar) vision of those dreams for such a diverse workforce that spanned several generations. This is less criticism than it is observation: it may be impossible to capture the motivations and ideations of the citrus workforce without a sustained focus on their communities as well as experimentation with historical writing that deviates from a focus on acts of individuals. If anything, Sackman's book demonstrates the need for multiple perspectives on this subject and inspires readers to search out complementary and alternative histories that will help complete the picture of the orange empire he so brilliantly depicts.

Matt Garcia is associate professor in the Department of American Civilization and the Center for the Study of Race and Ethnicity in America at Brown University. He is the author of A World of Its Own: Race, Labor, and Citrus in the Making of Greater Los Angeles, 1900–1970 (The University of North Carolina Press, 2001).

JESS: *The Political Career of Jesse Marvin Unruh*. By Jackson K. Putnam. (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2005. 462 pp. \$79.95 cloth; \$49.95 paper.) Reviewed by Eric Boime.

The California State Legislature once wielded the kind of power and status that no governor would presume to sidestep through special elections, let alone deride with sexually oriented taunts. In the not-too-recent past, it operated unfettered by recall imbroglios, mandatory term limits, ideological-driven deadlocks, and insurmountable deficits. Under the deft leadership of "Big Daddy" Jesse Marvin Unruh, who served as assembly speaker from 1961 to 1968, the political body enjoyed nationwide prestige for its professionalism and expertise, and its influence rivaled that of the highest office in the state. Governors Pat Brown and Ronald Reagan may have espoused vastly different legislative priorities, but they both found their agendas reigned in and retooled by the sheer sway of Speaker Unruh.

In *Jess*, Jackson Putman chronicles Unruh's substantial sixteen-year tenure in the legislature. Its current members, he persuasively illustrates, would have much to glean from—and are currently beholden to—Unruh's arsenal of artful maneuvers. Numerous readers will be surprised just how many ways an assemblyman can buoy or sink a lukewarm bill and why the process even matters when a senate rejection is imminent. As speaker, Unruh's most enduring contributions were those done to professionalize the assembly. He spurred a "staffing revolution" that equipped legislators with trained research and administrative personnel, and he transformed their seats into full-time, full-salaried positions. Another lasting contribution, for better or worse, was his pioneering utilization of the modern party fund-raiser. Actions such as these necessitated political finesse, but they were ultimately nonpartisan. They were designed to elevate the powers of the legislature and the speaker and put them on par with those of the state senate and the executive office.

Jess's major contention is that Unruh was a solid New Deal liberal who staved off the growing tides of extremism through the politics of moderation. The book's best sections elucidate this theme. Unruh's parliamentary "system" effectively checked all major legislation and budget proposals and, consequently, drew ire and goodwill from across the political spectrum. Unruh's immense fiscal acumen compelled Governors Brown and Reagan to account for their various spending program and effected spirited and nuanced debate on tax increases, reductions, accelerations, and relief. The story of 1960s tax reform may not always make "spellbinding" reading but is essential for understanding the radical Jarvis-Gann initiative of the late 1970s.

The author states from the onset that his focus is Unruh's legislative career, "not his fascinating tenure as State Treasurer," during which Proposition 13 was passed (p. vi). Still, Putman's narrative raises questions that bear directly on the later era. The Jarvis-Gann legislation enervated so many things Unruh valued: various government-funded programs, the powers of the assembly, and that body's bipartisan-ship. It propelled his nemesis and gubernatorial opponent, Ronald Reagan, into the presidency and heralded an age of conservative extremism. While in the assembly, Unruh tried hard, perhaps harder than anybody, to address property-tax imbalances, but to no avail. He was only one person, of course, but it is fair to ask the extent to which his pragmatic politics helped or hindered his endeavors. To what extent, moreover, can Proposition 13 be measured against his success as a steward of moderation?

Putman's detailed attention to assembly protocol, as well as to so many different kinds of legislation, will interest many aficionados of California politics. Legal and policy-oriented academics interested in this crucial period will find that Putman has saved them from untold hours of labor. His synthesis of archival collections, legislative documents, oral interviews, and newspapers makes *Jess* an important resource.

This large catalog of legislative activity, however, sometimes fails to distinguish the significant from the mundane. Not only is Unruh's choice of poet laureate given attention, but, to Putman, "it clearly revealed his less aesthetic qualities" (p. 112). Unruh's "energetic, 'successful,' but ultimately losing" effort to acquire a nuclear particle accelerator illustrates Unruh's "zealous" support of the natural sciences even though forty states showed interest in the \$300 million project (p. 113). Much of the information is given without historical nuance. What historiography Putnam is addressing is unclear, which is unfortunate given his work's unquestionable relevance to the new scholarship on modern conservatism. A rare exception occurs in a paragraph in the closing chapters, where he castigates recent scholars for ignoring the failure of conservatives to put their rhetoric into practice. Governor Reagan, for example, may have impressed voters with his "squeeze, cut, and trim" oratory, but his state budgets increased at the same proportion as his predecessor's (p. 291). This criticism seems incisive although undercut by the subsequent passage of real conservative legislation. More elaboration is wanting.

While Putnam chronicles the conflict in Sacramento, one might ask, perhaps unfairly, what conflict is moving the narrative of *Jess*? I say unfairly because part of the answer may lay in the nature of the author's theme: Unruh's pragmatism. In an era that witnessed the collapse of the liberal order and the rise of radical Left- and Right-wing ideologies, Unruh's successes, like professionalizing the legislature, were "bipartisan, admired, and noncontroversial" (p. 66). Even this "signal triumph," like many lesser ones, "developed a sour aftertaste," as partisan deadlocks and conflicts of interests continued and worsened (pp. 87-88). Still other accomplishments stem from inaction. To quell right-wing punitive actions against campus rioting, for example, Unruh launched purposely innocuous investigations. According to Putnam, "one of [Unruh's] greatest contributions" to higher education "was to do nothing at a time when little good and much bad could have been done" (p. 99). Meanwhile, Republicans continued to ride the Berkeley backlash to numerous victories. One can certainly appreciate Unruh's lament towards the end of his assembly career: "Politics for politics sake is a lot of fun, but there comes a time when . . . it really isn't much fun anymore" (p. 265).

Putman disdains this self-reflection when he accounts for Unruh's disastrous entrance into the arena of partisanship. Unruh's bungled attempt to steal an education bill through unsuspecting Republicans seriously wounded his reputation. His "blind and boundless" support for Robert Kennedy's presidential campaign killed any hope of winning the governorship (p. 253). Putman blames these decisions on poor and even "profoundly foolish" choices (p. 255). Could they have demonstrated exasperation with moderation?

Eric Boime is an assistant professor at San Diego State University—Imperial Valley Campus, where he teaches California, borderland, and environmental history.

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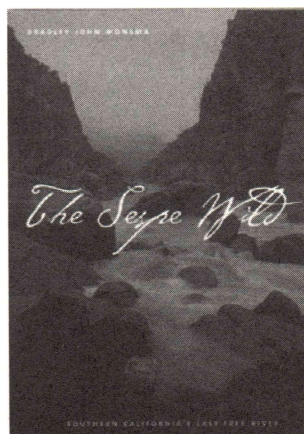
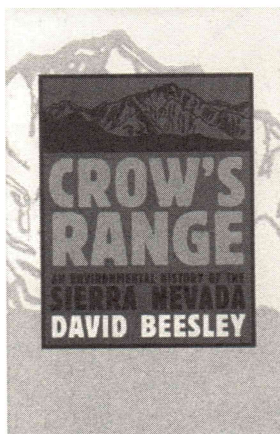
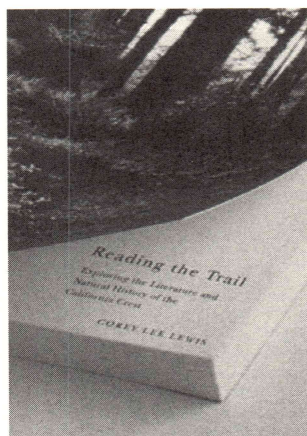
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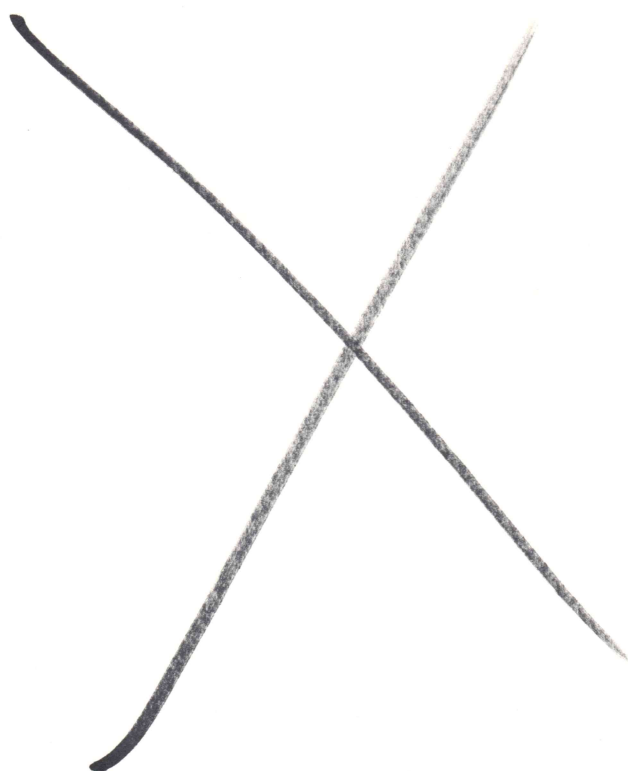
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